

# The LUTHERAN C H U R C H QUARTERLY

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Vol. X

JANUARY, 1937 ✓

No. 1

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The Columbus Convention of the United Lutheran Church  
In America: An Editorial

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BOOK REVIEWS

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# THE LUTHERAN CHURCH QUARTERLY

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## THE LUTHERAN CHURCH QUARTERLY

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# THE LUTHERAN CHURCH QUARTERLY

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JANUARY, 1937

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THE COLUMBUS CONVENTION OF THE UNITED  
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

An Editorial

OSCAR F. BLACKWELDER  
Washington, D. C.

IT is not easy to objectify a movement or a cause that one loves. The editors of *The Lutheran Church Quarterly* have requested me to write an editorial on the biennial convention of the United Lutheran Church in America which met for the week of October 14-21 in Columbus, Ohio. This is to be not a resumé of details but a critique of the spirit of the convention. It is not written by an outside, professional observer but by one who confesses his love for his church and who, in the content of this review, is ready, as far as he is capable, to share the responsibility of his observations.

The most significant characteristic of the convention was not what was done but the general attitude manifested. The convention was businesslike, eager and alert, showing clearly a desire for definite new advances in the promotion of the church. The attitude of suspense, probably influenced by the financial situation, has been abandoned. The church has been waiting for something that would enable her to go ahead and feels the time is here for it.

Since the Philadelphia convention in 1932 there has been a growing mind in the church for better internal adjustments and promotional effort. This was more clearly shown in the specific resolutions adopted at the Savannah convention in 1934 when a

committee of nine was appointed, who reported their findings to the Executive Board. The board through the President reported at Columbus. The President's report was largely the crystallization of this growing spirit. The reaction of the convention toward amendments to his report on promotion was significant. In voting down several proposed amendments aimed to determine details in the plan, it seemed to say, "We don't want management; we want leadership." President Knubel probably never has had as splendid an opportunity for effective leadership since the earliest days of the "merger" as he has today.

Before promotion is possible there logically comes the setting of one's house in order. These internal adjustments began with the largest and strongest of the church's auxiliaries—the Women's Missionary Society. Such adjustments soon concerned all auxiliaries and included boards and committees, as for example the Committee on Evangelism and the Committee on Moral and Social Welfare, which were ordered merged with the Inner Mission Board, probably including a change in the name of this board and an enlargement of its functions. A third area of potential adjustment takes in institutions, especially theological seminaries.

Two lines of promotion have been emphasized, one the promotion of the spiritual life and the other the promotion of Christian service. The betterment of the spiritual life is the basis of every proposition for the betterment of Christian service and this is involved in the internal adjustments contemplated.

President Knubel pleaded for a church consciousness. A contemporary journal feels the convention spirit was largely that. In the building of church consciousness as the initial step in promotion in service, two definite angles must be steadily held in mind: what shall be our attitude toward other Lutheran bodies in America and what shall be our attitude toward evangelical Christians everywhere? One of the most imperative questions in the world is Christian unity. That is why Jesus prayed for it. To keep a brotherly attitude toward others who bear our name and at the same time to assume a constructive relationship toward other Christians is our minimum duty. The two are inseparable and one does not preclude the other. Both give the sense of direction

for church promotion. While we are working to get our own Lutheran household reunited, it must be with the far larger task of a united body of Christ in view. The ecumenical Lutheran remembers that a sect is schismatic, concerned only with its own class or group, while a church is concerned with humanity.

Facing the problem of Lutheran unity in America, it is quite clear that no Lutheran body can live in isolation in the United States today with the changed social conditions under which we live. The writer recently discussed this theme with one of the most trusted leaders in America, who emphasized the fact that the famous Galesburg Rule covers three and not one point alone. This rule bears immediately upon the thesis of this problem and is here repeated in full: 1.) Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran ministers only; Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only. 2.) Exceptions to the rule belong in the sphere of privilege, not of right. 3.) The determination of the exceptions is to be made in consonance with these principles by the conscientious judgment of pastors, as the cases arise.

Is not the time far past when the Lutheran church should wait for the initiation and invitation of others to sit down around world conference tables and discuss possible ways to a reunited Christendom? Why should the Mother of Protestantism be so constantly a guest? Should not a mother be interested in calling together her own children? Should she not occasionally be hostess to a proposed family reunion? Why should the sons and daughters of a creative, pioneering Luther be only observers or advisors and consultants?

This reviewer suggests that there is evangelical unity possible on a spiritual level long before there will be intellectual or theological uniformity, if that latter time ever arrives. Christians of the highest dedication today with due regard for the thinking of the past are determined to reach beyond present differences, not ignoring them, and to find a loyalty sufficiently true, high and strong to unite every disciple who loves the Lord Jesus Christ. The living Christ is the major thesis by which all other statements, definitions and confessions are conditioned.

This is not to plead for loose thinking or doctrinal indifference. Rather it is to plead for the recognition of those first things

without which others cannot be added. The living Christ and love for men are the center and circumference of the Christian religion. The new day which seems to be dawning is so great that it demands at the center of its life an adequate religion. The combined creeds of Christendom may be needed to impact a modern world. The time is now and ever has been when men were in need of a greater comprehension of Christ, an adequate working formula for an expanding universe.

The Christian faith rests not upon sex but upon personality; and one of the most fervid debates of the convention was in answer to the appeal of the Texas Synod about the status of women in church work. Following good Lutheran tradition, the focal question was: is it contrary to Scripture? The convention voted once and even more strongly when the question was debated a second time. Every available parliamentary move was undertaken by the minority. The most interesting side of the debate to this listener was the appeal of the minority to conscience. The convention declared for wide privileges for women and the binding quality of the action on the consciences of the minority was referred to the Commission on Adjudication.

The question of conscience suggests the democracy of the convention. The President, who presides with a parliamentary precision that approaches perfection, repeatedly made suggestions from the chair to minority speakers, suggesting ways of procedure by which their judgments or wishes could be presented. This writer doubts if any major denomination in America could meet with less attempt at control of the convention mind. The United Lutheran Church today is more of a brotherhood than an army marshalled to any one command. It is ready for leadership but not mastery. In this spirit, this observer believes President Knubel was re-elected, after eighteen years of continuous service, by a larger percentage of votes than President Roosevelt.

Reference has been made previously to the merger of the Committee on Evangelism, the Committee on Moral and Social Welfare and the Inner Mission Board. The name of the board may be changed. It is quite evident that the term "Inner Mission" is not clear in the general mind and may never be translatable in the

American conception. It is as difficult to make clear to the American mind as certain American terms are hard for the European. Someone has suggested facetiously the alternate title, "The Evangelistic Inner Mission Deaconess Board of Moral and Social Welfare." Just how relief and institutional work in the name of Christ fits into evangelistic work for the normal and privileged classes is a bit hard to see. If the Inner Mission Board is to cover the whole field of the local congregation's life, how will it be related to the Parish and Church School Board? And does this merger imply the recovery of the earliest Inner Mission emphasis which held promise of the church functioning as the conscience of society, vitally concerned with public social and moral issues? Is the church now ready to follow the logic of her program of relief—the study of and, if need be, the attack upon those causes which make relief work necessary?

This last question introduces the Moral and Social Welfare Committee's report and the incident discussion, upon which the editors of *The Lutheran Church Quarterly* have requested special comment in this editorial. It is one of the hardest reports to prepare for any convention. The Columbus report from this committee was called "vague" and "innocuous" by one reporter. In the judgment of this writer, it should have been more definite, but *how* to be is the issue.

The report dealt with education. Parents should inquire into the religious position of schools where their youth are to be enrolled, and fortunate are they if they have a pastor equipped to advise; but suppose parents find that an institution does not provide a constructive religious atmosphere, what can they do about it? Is not attendance at a state university, or at a municipal school due to low costs, high scholarship and the church's lack of professional schools? The average parent will have to take a chance on the student's previous Christian education to weather any storms. It is very unfortunate that so few Lutheran schools are located in centers of dense population. As the situation stands today, Christian higher education is not being given by the church to the bulk of her college students. In all our Lutheran colleges there are 4,719 students of whom only 2,017 are Lutherans. There are

about 1,000 Lutheran students in Penn State, George Washington University and the University of Maryland alone. Our Board of Education is doing a most valuable work in such institutions where church youth would be practically minus church or faith. Our own church colleges deserve our best, that they may offer the service of genuine Christian scholarship so that there will be no occasion for church parents to hesitate in sending their youth to church institutions.

Our church, cradled in a university, has a primal obligation to challenge non-Christian educational practice on an adult level. For example, probably no man has influenced the educational system of America as has Dr. John Dewey. How many really know for what he stands? Who is prepared to debate the philosophical presuppositions from which he works? He represents the "sources" in American educational procedure. If certain trends in high school, college and university life are held undesirable, the place to begin is with the creative minds who do the first line educational thinking and planning. The church's fundamental task now isn't to save youth through question-fellowship periods around the tea-cups. It is in aggressive conflict with the relative presuppositions and viewpoints of Christian and non-Christian conceptions of life, society and education. The schoolman writes his books, the churchman writes his and seldom the twain do meet. This is not to imagine two "armies" arrayed at each other, for the problem is far more subtle and serious than that. It is more like the work of Prof. McDougall in psychology, Prof. Ellwood in sociology, Prof. Van Dusen in philosophy of religion, Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr in ethics—in which fields Lutheran scholarship has not made the contribution required.

The Board of Education, so limited in time for the presentation of its work, reported largely on educational trends in America today. The real question is whether we have the scholarship in the fields of philosophy, psychology, ethics, sociology and physics to deal with the issues at stake. It is probably in these fields that the struggle is centered. What do we mean by Christian education anyhow? What is the essential difference between what one can secure as an undergraduate today at Gettysburg College and the

University of Pennsylvania, at Roanoke College and Virginia Polytechnic Institute or Wittenberg and Ohio State?

This writer cordially commends the statement of aims and functions of the Council of Church Boards of Education and the ring of reality in a communication from the secretary of our Board of Education: Forces are at work to belittle religion and sneer at the church; to put the church out of education or destroy the church's educational system; to place the states and the federal government in complete control of all education. It is recognized that the church must counteract any antireligious activities, a materialistic psychology and a naturalistic education, and that she must maintain the Christian ethic.

The point of this editorial is that such cannot be done effectively on the student level alone, but on the adult level where the source of the "belittling" and "sneering" lies. And it is not simply a question of defense but rather a problem of creative scholarship at desk and in classroom, dedicated in the spirit of St. Paul for our day. Is it too much to expect this to come from the faculties of our church colleges and theological seminaries, or must men be released for this tremendous and vital service? Why should the church take the negative and be on the defense in the rebuttal? She is the establishing agent in American higher education. Why shall she simply defend and refute today? Why not a torchbearer?

Upon the more obvious problems of the movies, gambling, alcoholic beverages and indecent literature, which are profound in their influence, the report was much more specific but it does not leave the reader without certain questions.

As concerns motion pictures, too many of us have exhorted in general terms while it was the Roman Catholic Legion of Decency that to a degree, at least, cleaned the pictures for all of us. When Lutheranism is willing to blend her voice with that of a united Protestantism, which is thereby enabled to speak with a unanimity similar to that of the Catholics, Protestantism will be able to show comparable fruits in American life.

As concerns gambling, does the "conscientious avoidance of everything that bears any taint of the gambling spirit," as voted by the convention, in logic unafraid, call upon our people to refrain

from the gambles of the stock market to which many are now returning in the characteristic American hope of getting something for nothing?

As concerns "legislation," what did the Columbus convention mean by disavowing the "legalistic regulation of life" in recommendation No. 18 even while it urged Christians in recommendation No. 11 "to seek the repeal of all legislation that legalizes gambling"—for such repeal is itself legislation? If we are to seek this particular social legislation, why not other? Did the convention implicitly commit Christians to legislative technique?

In the area of world peace, the church must do at least three specific things. Just here the writer is definitely indebted to his colleague, Dr. Carl C. Rasmussen for guidance and assistance.

First, the church must bring to her people a realistic and informed handling of great and pertinent *facts* bearing on international relations and the national defense. To illustrate exactly what this means, the writer refers to his article in *The Lutheran* of June 4, this year, which was built on an interview with the Hon. Henry C. Luckey, of Nebraska, and a study of speeches he made in the last session of the Congress on the subject of military preparedness. He showed that the United States has spent more on her military defenses between 1919 and 1934 than France, Italy, Japan and Germany combined, though we emerged from the World War as one of the ranking military powers. We have spent two billion more than our nearest spender, the peace loving Great Britain. The proponents of the inadequacy of our defenses point out that we are eighteenth today in armed forces among the nations. There is only one question left: what has become of the money? Mr. Luckey showed that the answer is not in the labor cost differential. My article went on to show the sheer waste in overstocking the army, such as buying 1,798,903 pairs of cotton breeches and issuing only 174,463. Equipment is kept on hand sufficient for an army of one million men when we have only an army of 150,000. The use of such facts is more effective than general pronouncements.

Second, the church must bring to her people an *interpretation* of these facts and the problems on which they bear, with the view

of creating a Christian public opinion. Strictly speaking, there is never *a* public opinion; there are always many competing opinions. The thing which characterizes an age is which of these competing opinions are at the time dominant. There have been eras when it was the Christian church which supplied the regnant attitudes, but this is not true today. Where does the general public get its compelling ideas? The church has certainly not created such prevalent mores, for example, as smoking by women, gambling, indecent literature, open movies on Sunday. Many people have been influenced very subtly and they have felt their opinions changing, relaxing in a social temperature or atmosphere over which they had little or no control, which was created by someone else. The church again must become the regnant interpreter of American public opinion. She must not fail to do so in the problems of peace and war for she is the moral interpreter of mankind. No lesser ambition is worthy or adequate for her history and destiny. If society is to have a moral conscience, it must come from the church through her voice of testimony.

Third, the church must show her people how to *implement* their peace ideals. We have tarried too long in generalizations. The effectiveness of the American Legion, for example, with a mere million members (the Christian church has fifty million) in shaping the policies of the American state illustrates the possibilities of ideals that are "implemented." If we look in another direction, we find the Quakers with an influence on the peace question utterly disproportionate to their numerical strength, a power which rests on their historical pacifistic technique. The Columbus convention took a definite step toward implementing the church's mind by urging our people to come to some conclusion on (1) Mandatory neutrality legislation, (2) Removal of munition manufacture from private industry, (3) Limitation of military expenditure, (4) Popular referendum before our country can enter war except in case of invasion.

In the field of economics the convention affirmed "the evangelical principle for the conduct of all business, that Christian brotherhood must afford the spirit and Christian stewardship must determine the practices by which injustice is removed and mutual

good will and brotherly fair play are established, and by which a truly moral and sound economic order must be secured."

The last clause is accurately pointed: a moral and sound economic order are inseparable. If this is a moral universe, then the attack on economic problems must be a moral one. The kingdom of God and His righteousness involve ethical attacks on what is wrong. As the attack is made, the moral sense sharpens and what seemed right, now seems wrong. The method of this attack should not be in general pronouncements nor alone in the recitation of principles. "The business of the church is to lay the mind of Christ radiantly alongside our distorted earth until men, tortured by the difference, rise up to build the kingdom." Someone must keep society aware of injustice, inequalities and lack of Christian brotherhood. This "someone" is the church.

The convention declared that the task of the church is to "proclaim principle" but this surely must mean to make such proclamations in the light of the example of Jesus and Martin Luther. Did they simply proclaim principle?

It is true that there is power in the gospel to make society Christian, as the Moral and Social Welfare Committee reported, but how? We must be increasingly impatient with generalizations in a world of need like ours today.

The real business of the church includes the interpretation of living, tragic facts in the light of the principles and power of the gospel—or shall we say, in the light of the mind of Christ as best we can increasingly understand that mind, for he is the gospel. Even the suggestion of "legalistic regulation" in this field is premature, as the N. R. A. demonstrated. Our task and method is much more serious. It is the laboratory method of discipleship, learners at the feet of Jesus in the midst of life's real issues. We are called to be co-workers with him to redeem and restore this imperfect world. Such is the patient, hard, factual, studious method of the laboratory. This means not the figure of a "moral policeman" but a student struggling beneath the light of Christ with the ills of the social order that ruin, stain and crush human life on his practical mind as well as conscience. It means not a hot tempered crusader (even though that hour may arrive), but a

quiet mind saturated with His spirit at grips with the staggering facts of where men live and how they work. The church must not abandon her task of relief but she must do the far more fundamental thing of studying and attacking in this laboratory spirit the causes that make relief work necessary. As we do such Christlike service we grow Christlike ourselves.

These economic facts are in the realm of bone structure and no amount of good will can cure broken bones. This is illustrative of the possible weakness in the argument that the church's task is done when she converts and builds individual Christian character which in turn will change the world. Goodness and intelligence are not the same. Two things and not one are wrong with the world: evil and stupidity. Probably the establishment through the centuries of schools and colleges by the church alongside her temples of worship is testimony to this twofold observation.

The Bible is not a book on economics but it contains, especially from Jesus, principles, clues and insights but for which no sustained progress and solution can be made in any area that enriches or enslaves human life. Is this an implication from his miracles? He is the Master of the whole of life or none. Religion must come into the entire field of life or be crowded out of all of life. Where is the chance to lead individuals to Christ in Russia today?

The sermon by President Knubel on "Changed Lives" and the address by Dr. Charles J. Smith upon the life and work of Dr. John Alfred Morehead suggest the need, even if it means lengthening the convention period, for larger spiritual opportunities at these biennial gatherings. This is being written with the warm memory of the dynamic Christian reinforcement of the National Preaching Mission for the writer's life. Something like this should be available at our church conventions. The church meets for legal and parliamentary procedure, but also for spiritual regeneration. Far more than well ordered business sessions and parliamentary excellence is the need of divine reinforcement through organic fellowship and fresh glimpses into the Christian life and ministry. Delegates should leave the convention as new men for Christ in their home synods and congregations. We greatly need at the United Lutheran Church conventions more experiences like that

rather widely known "group meeting" which Dr. Paul Scherer convened in a hotel room in connection with the Milwaukee convention of 1930. This writer uses Dr. Scherer's own words to tell the story of that night and to close this editorial:

"One night at Milwaukee a score of us gathered in a quiet room. Years ago we had given ourselves to a great cause, and we met to take stock of it all. One by one around the circle voices spoke slowly and earnestly, stripping each from his own experience the things that did not matter and leaving with moistened eyes the thing that did—Jesus Christ and the power of his living Presence. Again and again, through stories of success and failure, of hope and discouragement, out of lives well known, and out of humbler lives in unremembered places, came simple, sometimes broken phrases telling of a great Friendship. It was like the old recurring pathway that runs across the heather of the Yorkshire moors, marked here and there by the ancient paving stones that in days long ago led the trudging feet of weary pilgrims to Whitby Abbey 'on its stately headland above the Northern Sea': through these varied settings, men whose task was in the slums, in distant lands, on broad avenues, along country lanes—this recurring solemn pathway that every man's feet had traveled stumbling, for the yearning that was in his heart—Jesus—*Jesus*—JESUS. And at the last, one by one we prayed—and it was like the fellowship of hands laid on the hem of a garment—and a stillness as of One in our midst—and a strength as of a great commission."

## GOD'S LOVE OF MAN AS FOUND IN BROWNING

THOMAS L. CLINE  
Gettysburg, Pennsylvania

**E**VEN a casual picture of our world today, in small communities or in the large centers of commercial life, gives the decided notion that thousands and millions of our men and women take life lightly, cynically, and when the veil of social pretence is lifted, take their world with a discouraged and melancholy attitude. Acceptance of the faith of the Fathers, with the hope and assurance that goes with it, cannot be taken for granted on the part of the masses.

Religious and secular magazines agree in picturing the surging tide of unrest, uncertainty, and disillusionment. Many articles, novels, and books have been written in explanation of this phenomenon, and howsoever the various theories contradict each other they do agree in the acknowledgment of the social conditions of our world.

This paper is not an attempt to add to the literature of explanation. I wish to present something of the philosophy of a man who in his day met a tide of scepticism and agnosticism frankly, honestly and for himself triumphantly. Nowhere in the nineteenth century, during which period science had seemingly rocked the foundations of the church, do we find a faith so definite, so clear, so triumphant in its certainty as in the poetry of Robert Browning. By both discussion and quotation I hope to present the basis of his faith and optimism together with the power and beauty of his verse.

The universe in which Browning found himself was no longer the one of a kindly and beneficent nature that appears so persistently in the poetry of Wordsworth. Science had emerged with its statement of universal law; experiment and observation had supplanted the emotional reactions of the Lake School and nature appeared in her real colors. Science found mostly a demonstration of power, a power whose only master was might, whose only guide was a law that brooked no exceptions. The basic law was the survival of the strongest; the rude storms of nature buffeted the curly

haired youth, with the same unconsciousness as that of the aged man going feebly toward the setting sun. Natural beauty was real to Browning: his moving descriptions of his beloved Italy show this sufficiently, but to him nature in the raw was power; the love of nature for man had disappeared under the scrutiny of science.

However, Browning's chief interest and study was man, not nature. A glance will indicate that a large number of his works are named after or identified with individuals. As he says of one volume to Mrs. Browning:

There they are, my fifty men and women,  
Naming me the fifty poems finished  
Take them, Love, the book and me together,  
Where the heart lies, let the brain lie also.

This poet is at his best in the dramatic monologue, in which he has one character do all the talking but by frequent reference and quotation gives the reader the thoughts of additional persons. Few of the poet's works deal with contemporary figures or events. He delighted to reinterpret characters drawn from some past era. The men and women that distinguish his gallery of portraits are chiefly taken from the Italy of the Renaissance and from the Bible.

The following study of the poem "Saul" will indicate that Browning is definitely a Christian poet, and that he is sure of his ground. He selects a time in the life of Saul when he is in a fit of melancholy, when one might say as in the Old Testament that he was possessed of an evil spirit. His disinterest in everything was complete; lethargy controlled him, he was more dead than alive. Abner, realizing that all the help that he could give would avail nothing, sent for David. This was the only remaining chance; the beauty of this boy's song and harp might snatch the first King from the demon of despair.

This simple shepherd boy, raised in the creed of his Fathers and accepting religion as a part of his life as of his surroundings, slipped into the darkened tent and saw the gloom and despair in the face of Saul. David, a child of the out-of-doors, played and sang of that which he knew and felt to be lovely, appealing, and

grand in the universe, of that which had aroused his soul, and by which he hoped in turn to arouse the heart of his King.

'Oh, our manhood's prime vigor! No spirit feels waste,  
Not a muscle is stopped in its playing nor sinew unbraced  
Oh, the wild joys of living! the leaping from rock up to rock,  
The strong rending of boughs from the fir tree, the cool silver shock  
Of the plunge in a pool's living water, the hunt of the bear,  
And the sultriness showing the lion is couched in his lair.'

He planned on the restoration of the real Saul; he wanted to see in his master the qualities that the prophet Samuel, that God saw when he was chosen as the first King of Israel. As his song continues he distinguishes between the fruits of the body and the soul.

'Yea, my King,'

I began—'thou dost well in rejecting mere comforts that spring  
From the mere mortal life held in common by man and by brute:  
In our flesh grows the branch of this life, in our soul it bears  
fruit. . . .

Leave the flesh to the fate it was fit for! the spirit be thine!  
By the spirit, when age shall o'ercome thee, thou still shalt enjoy  
More indeed, than at first when unconscious, the life of a boy.  
Crush that life, and behold its wine running! Each deed thou hast  
done

Dies, revives, goes to work in the world; until e'en as the sun  
Looking down on the earth, though clouds spoil him, though tempests  
efface,

Can find nothing his own deed produced not, must everywhere trace  
The results of his past summer-prime,—so, each ray of thy will,  
Every flash of thy passion and prowess, long over, shall thrill  
Thy whole people, the countless, with ardor, till they too give forth  
A like cheer to their sons; who in turn, fill the South and the North,  
With the radiance thy deed was the germ of.'

This stirring vision of the glory that was to live after the King moved Saul, and David noticed for the first time that his master appeared something like his former self, something like the great man he was before,

error had bent

The broad brow from the daily communion; and still, though much  
spent

Be the life and the bearing that front you, the same, God did choose,  
To receive what a man may waste, desecrate, never quite lose.

David could have had little idea that his attempt to bring life to Saul, and Saul to a new interest and zest for life, would bring in its results something far more important than anything his original hope encompassed. Certainly his fancy never pictured the actual result, never suggested that the revelation of truth he would find within himself would be the truly significant accomplishment. In the course of his singing he stopped and wondered if his restorative efforts had been successful. Had his King come to himself, had the Godlike in Saul triumphed?

I looked up to know

If the best I could do had brought solace: he spoke not, but slow  
Lifted up the hand slack at his side, till he laid it with care  
Soft and grave, but in mild settled will, on my brow: through my  
hair

The large fingers were pushed, and he bent back my head, with kind  
power—

All my face back, intent to peruse it, as men do a flower.

Thus held he me there with his great eyes that scrutinized mine—

And oh, all my heart how it loved him! but where was the sigh?

I yearned—'Could I help thee, my father, inventing a bliss,

I would add, to that life of the past, both the future and this;

I would give thee new life altogether, as good, ages hence,

As this moment,—had love but the warrant, love's heart to dispense!

Browning had observed this life, this habitation of ours, through the eyes of modern science and he had not discovered in the scheme of created life the third vital quality of God, that quality that must be added to intelligence and power to complete the Divine: that attribute we commonly call love was not to be found. He says,

'I have gone the whole round of creation: I saw and I spoke:  
I, a work of God's hand for that purpose, received in my brain  
And pronounced on the rest of his handiwork—returned him again  
His creation's approval or censure: I spoke as I saw:  
I report, as a man may of God's work—all's love, yet all's law.'

The real vividness and power of this scene comes to us as the poet tells us that, as Saul gazed into the glowing face of the boy, and David caught the responding love from the eyes of his King, he was aroused to explain, "And oh, all my heart how it loved him!" This son of Jesse became aware for the first time that love—love that will cause one to give life for another—was alive in his own soul. This new knowledge of himself frightens him, almost overwhelms him for the thought comes, "I know I can give all for love, but will God do as much?" Then it is that the profound truth dawns on his consciousness, "All's love, yet all's law."

In his singing David had used all his skill as a harpist, had celebrated the glories of Israel, had pictured the fame of Saul as it would be known by the coming ages: he had really touched on everything except himself; the out-of-doors, the life of animals, the doings of men, power and intelligence, physical beauty in all its magnificent forms, all had been praised in turn.

One aspect of nature was, however, unknown to him, for it was unknown to his creator, Browning. In the early nineteenth century a great poet, Wordsworth, had sung too; had sung an inspired song of love existing at every point in our universe. Science after his time had made universal law and power supreme, which left no spot, in our universe, for a beneficent and kindly nature to exist. Browning could never have written or accepted the natural philosophy expressed in the following from Wordsworth, "Lines Composed a Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey"—

Well pleased to recognize  
In nature and the language of the sense  
The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,  
The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul  
Of all my moral being. . . .

And this prayer I make  
 Knowing that nature never did betray  
 The heart that loved her; 'tis her privilege,  
 Through all the years of this our life, to lead  
 From joy to joy: for she can so inform  
 The mind that is within us, so impress  
 With quietness and beauty, and so feed  
 With lofty thoughts, that neither evil tongues,  
 Rash judgments, nor the sneers of selfish men,  
 Nor greetings where no kindness is, nor all  
 The dreary intercourse of daily life,  
 Shall e'er prevail against us, or disturb  
 Our cheerful faith, that all which we behold  
 Is full of blessings.

Browning had found force, seemingly intelligent force, a plenty but not love. His David likewise finds beauty in the physical surroundings of life as a shepherd but not love. This discovery of love in his own heart is a profound revelation to him and starts his speculation on the attributes of a creator that could give him, only a youth, such capacities of affection.

'Have I knowledge? confounded it shrivels at Wisdom laid bare.  
 Have I forethought? how purblind, how blank, to the Infinite Care!  
 Do I task any faculty highest, to image success?  
 I but open my eyes,—and perfection, no more and no less,  
 In the kind I imagined, full-fronts me, and God is seen God  
 In the star, in the stone, in the flesh, in the soul and the clod.  
 And thus looking within and around me, I ever renew  
 (With that stoop of the soul which in bending upraises it, too)  
 The submission of man's nothing-perfect to God's all-complete, . . .'

This recognition of the supremacy of God's knowledge, wisdom and perfection astounds this young man, and makes the discovery of sacrificial love within himself and the question whether this love can be found in God, all the more perplexing and disturbing.

'Behold, I could love if I durst!  
 But I sink the pretension as fearing a man may o'ertake  
 God's own speed in the one way of love: I abstain for love's sake.'

This conclusion to his experience fails to satisfy him, and he hunts for more facts and tries to discover the truth in his attempt to explain this newly found capacity for unselfish love. He wonders how and why the gift came to him and, most important of all, from whom it came.

'What, my soul? see thus far and no farther? when doors great and small,

Nine-and-ninety, flew ope at our touch, should the hundredth ap-  
pal?

In the least things have faith, yet distrust in the greatest of all?

Do I find love so full in my nature, God's ultimate gift,

That I doubt his own love can compete with it? Here, the parts  
shift?

Here the creature surpass the creator,—the end, what Began?

Would I fain in my impotent yearning do all for this man,

And dare doubt he alone shall not help him, who yet alone can?

Would it ever have entered my mind, the bare will, much less power,

To bestow on this Saul what I sang of, the marvelous dower

Of the life he was gifted and filled with? to make such a soul,

Such a body, and then such an earth for insphering the whole?

And doth it not enter my mind (as my warm tears attest)

These good things being given, to go on, and give one more, the best?

Ay to save and redeem and restore him, maintain at the height

This perfection,—succeed with life's day-spring, death's minute of  
night?

Interpose at the difficult moment, snatch Saul the mistake,

Saul the failure, the ruin he seems now,—and bid him awake

From the dream, the probation, the prelude, to find himself set

Clear and safe in new light and new life,—a new harmony yet

To be run, and continued, and ended,—who knows?—or endure!

The man taught enough by life's dream, of the rest to make sure;

By the pain throb, triumphantly winning intensified bliss,

And the next world's reward and repose, by the struggles in this.'

The answer to his questioning came quickly and emphatically: there can be nothing in the result that was not in the cause. Man is created by God in his own image; if love is in man it must be in the source of man. Then God is love and since man at his best would give, as David is urged by his own heart to give his life for Saul, then so will God. Browning has David's sense of proph-

ecy spring in one leap beyond the confines of the Old Testament: he sees the Christ stand. His inspired moment carries to the magnificent conclusion, to the grand and glorious conception embodied in Jesus of Nazareth, whose love of man drew men to God from all classes and from all places.

'I believe it!' 'T is thou, God, that givest, 't is I who receive:  
In the first is the last, in thy will is my power to believe.  
All's one gift: thou canst grant it, moreover, as prompt to my prayer  
As I breathe out this breath, as I open these arms to the air.  
From thy will stream the worlds, life and nature, thy dread Sabaoth:  
I will?—the mere atoms despise me! Why am I not loth  
To look that, even that in the face too? Why is it I dare  
Think but lightly of such impuissance? What stops my despair?  
This;—'t is not what man Does which exalts him, but what man  
Would do!

See the King—I would help him but cannot, the wishes fall through.  
Could I wrestle to save him from sorrow, grow poor to enrich,  
To fill up his life, starve my own out, I would—knowing which,  
I know that my service is perfect. Oh, speak through me now!  
Would I suffer for him that I love? So wouldst thou—so wilt  
thou! . . .

As thy Love is discovered almighty, almighty be proved  
Thy power, that exists with and for it, of being Beloved!  
He who did most, shall bear most; the strongest shall stand the most  
weak.

'T is the weakness in strength that I cry for! my flesh, that I seek  
In the Godhead! I seek and I find it. O Saul, it shall be  
A face like my face that receives thee; a Man like to me,  
Thou shalt love and be loved by, forever: a Hand like this hand  
Shall throw open the gates of new life to thee! See the Christ  
stand!

At last David had found all three qualities of Jehovah; he had found at the same time the quality in man that linked him to God, the quality whose priceless possession would enable man to approach most nearly to his God.

The scientific investigations and discoveries of the age had taken away the possibility of love as a force operating or controlling this physical universe of ours, but Browning had found love

in his own soul and through this love found his response to Christ. To him it followed "as night the day" that love was an attribute of God and that through man alone God expresses his love and interest in human affairs. With a firm belief on God's love of man this artist's poetry would naturally be optimistic and hopeful.

A cheerful, living, buoyant faith runs throughout his creative work. Of all the poets of his century he is the most dominantly Christian. A study of his poetry will lead to an affection for the author, an appreciation of the magnificence of the man, and may lead one to exclaim,

'O Saul, shall it be -

A face like my face that receives thee; a Man like to me,  
Thou shalt love and be loved by, forever: a Hand like this hand  
Shall throw open the gates of new life to thee! See the Christ  
stand!

# FREDERICK AUGUST KAHLER

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THE life of Frederick August Kahler<sup>1</sup> is representative of the finest traditions of "the good pastor." The parochial limits of his labors and the simplicity of his life may delay recognition of his essential greatness; they did not constitute a barrier to his growth in qualities which men expect to find in great men.

He excelled in the quality of charity as it was once described to the Corinthians. It is a feeling for individuals rather than for men in the mass. It exists in full measure only in the man whose heart is large enough to be free from even the inclination to pride and pettiness. It warms at the approach of any human being. In this respect there need be no hesitation in associating Frederick Kahler with men who have been more widely recognized in the Christian Ministry.

He may not be compared with some of the religious leaders of his generation in adventurous thinking and literary works, or with others in ecclesiastical power and position. Nor did the scope of his life ever extend into national or international affairs.

Those who have known him well have felt his personal greatness and have not attempted to establish it on the visible extent of

1 The materials for this biography are incomplete and widely scattered. Some that are known to have existed have not yet been found. Some have so far been inaccessible. Little that is autobiographic has survived him. His daughter, Mrs. Margarethe Kahler Henrich and his close friend, Mr. Frederick Henrich have supplied some valuable notes containing information which they secured directly from him and his sister Emma. Rev. Henry J. Pflum, D.D., his successor at Holy Trinity Lutheran Church has also furnished information which he had secured from Dr. Kahler before his death. A unique record book which his father kept for more than sixty years and which was in the keeping of his sister Louise, lately deceased, has not yet been found. Rev. Jeremiah Ohl, D.D., his friend since student days, has added some information. Rev. Karl W. Hemsath, D.D., has assisted in the study of the parish records of St. Michael's Church in Germantown, Pa. Rev. Paul Scherer, D.D., LL.D., has contributed valuable suggestions for the delineation of his personality. The history of Holy Trinity Lutheran Church, which is now being prepared by Mr. Frederick Henrich, deals in large part with Dr. Kahler's work. Of some value are several of his articles in the Lutheran Church Review and his frequent contributions to his own parish paper.

his achievements. They are confident that he would feel at ease, and could make his presence felt in the company of men who have won renown as leaders in any field of human interest.

To attempt beyond this to establish his claim to greatness even among the notable leaders in the Lutheran church, would result in distortion. He would be the last to make such a claim. He destroyed much of the evidence on which it might be based. His friends would find something strange and foreign in a portrait of this kind. His life is interesting and worthy of study for other reasons.

His parents both came from the German state of Holstein at a time when its ruler was the King of Denmark. The father, Heinrich Christian Kahler III was born in Wandsbeck near Hamburg, sometime before 1820. He grew up into a joyous, bubbling young man, influenced by an early tutor, Franz Carl Claudius, to be devoutly religious. In time he entered the University at Kiel where he presumably studied theology. In 1837 he married Anna Magdalena Otteson. In the following years it appeared to the sincerely pious that true religion was declining in their land. The Kahlers were among a group of earnest souls who were accustomed to assemble in special gatherings for religious edification and Christian help in Wandsbeck under the leadership of an editor, Mattias Claudius.

A combination of circumstances gave rise to thoughts of leaving their native land. In addition to religious dissatisfaction, they felt the stirrings of the revolutionary year of 1848 and of the exodus of German people which followed its failure. When they learned of the need for missionaries to labor among the scattered Germans who were moving in numbers into western Pennsylvania and Ohio they turned their faces in this direction. With their four children and Frau Kahler's father, Captain Otteson, they sailed from Hamburg. Their adventurous sea voyage to New York lasted six weeks. Death threatened when fire was discovered in the ship's ballast but it was finally checked when the hatches were battened down. A different death invaded the family circle when cholera broke out on board. Captain Otteson and the youngest Kahler baby succumbed and were buried at sea.

From New York two weeks were required for the passage by canal boat to Buffalo. The lake trip to Erie, Pa. by steamer proved to be the only pleasant portion of the long trip from Hamburg. At Erie the father became the pastor of a circuit of scattered churches which extended twenty-five miles from the city in one direction and nineteen miles in another. Winter travel over a circuit of these dimensions in a home-made sleigh with hickory runners taxed a strong constitution. Dr. W. A. Passavant proved to be a warm friend of the new pastor throughout the years which were spent in Pennsylvania.

On September 21, 1850, within the first year of their residence at Erie, arrived their first child born in America. Frederick August Kahler was thus a native of the United States.

His childhood was spent at Erie. He was sent to schools in which the English language was spoken, because his parents clearly foresaw that the child would not look back to Germany but would make a place for himself in the new world.

When Frederick was twelve years old in the midst of the Civil War the family accompanied the father to a new field of labor at Sebastopol, Ontario, north of Lake Erie and about one hundred miles west of Buffalo. The churches in the vicinity of Erie had been established, and the missionary urge which had brought the parents to America now led them to another frontier although the transfer involved a smaller salary and fewer opportunities for the children. The district to which they came had been settled thirty years before by Hessians. By thrift and industry they had acquired a degree of comfort in their homes, were able to employ some of the newly invented farm machinery, and were prospering in their abundant fruit orchards. Signs of earlier pioneer days still remained. The parsonage was a log house and wood in stove lengths was part of the salary.

At Sebringville, a few miles away, lived Reverend Hengerer, nearest Lutheran pastor. The two families became close friends. His son, William Hengerer later moved to Buffalo, founded the great department store which bears his name, and led the movement for the establishment of the first English Lutheran work in the city. When at a later time Frederick Kahler came to Buffalo to

assume charge of the church in which William Hengerer was deeply interested, the friendship of their boyhood was renewed and strengthened in twenty-two years of delightful cooperation.

In the three years which were spent at Sebastopol the growing boy attended country school and prepared, by receiving extra instruction from the teacher, to enter a university. This teacher, Frederick Budenburg, was a remarkable man. He was a graduate of Goettingen University and he had been well educated in the classics. That he could speak Latin freely and write his letters in Greek made a vivid impression on his young pupil. In his instruction he used what we would call today the "direct method," setting the student to put ordinary phrases of daily use into Latin. Frederick's aptitude claimed his special interest and the boy received from him an excellent preparation in Latin and Greek, then considered essential for college entrance.

In this period of adolescence he was growing into an active vigorous youth. Few opportunities for sports existed. Chores were numerous; among them was a daily trip to obtain the mail at Travistock, three-quarters of a mile away. The postmaster observed that he always came in on a run. In these youthful years the idea of becoming a medical missionary dominated his thoughts for the future.

When his father accepted a call to the German Lutheran Church in Montreal in 1865 his brother Frank, five years his senior, entered McGill University. The professor of classics persuaded the father to allow his younger son to begin his college education at the same time although he was but fifteen years old. Two summers were spent in study in order to give him full standing in his class. At that time the curriculum included Hebrew among the courses which were taken in the freshman year and young Frederick, with his aptitude for languages, won the prize in it. At the end of his second year his petition to take the "Honors Course in Classics" was granted by the faculty. At the end of his four years at McGill he was awarded the Chapman gold medal for excellence in the classics. When he was graduated in 1869 he was still four months under nineteen and the youngest man to complete the course in the forty-eight years of its history.

In later years he declared that the greatest privilege which McGill University offered to its students was association with its principal, Sir William Dawson. He said of him, "There was no finer man of learning and culture and deep sympathy with the students in all the world. He was a great authority in natural science. He steadied inquiring minds when Charles Darwin was leading turbulent followers in the new guesses of evolution. Dr. Dawson was not only profoundly learned in theology, but also thoroughly at home in the Hebrew of the Old Testament. He invited students to his parlor on Saturday evenings to explain the natural history of the Old Testament. No one who attended will ever forget or fail of gratitude to him." It is possible substantially to confirm Dr. Kahler's estimate of the man who exerted the greatest influence on him in the formative years at college. Sir John William Dawson was a Canadian geologist who was widely known in his field, although some of the views which he advanced no longer prevail. Under his leadership between 1865 and 1893 McGill University developed into one of the best institutions in America. When Frederick Kahler returned three years later to receive the Master's degree, another student, William Osler, was receiving his degree from the medical school of the same university but there is no record that the two ever became acquainted.

When the two brothers had finished their university course, Frank began the study of theology at the Lutheran Seminary in Philadelphia, with such help as the limited resources of his father and older sister Emma could provide. Further education for Frederick had to be postponed. A slight sunstroke at one time in his university life had forced him to abandon all thoughts of becoming a medical missionary in India or Africa. When the University authorities, recognizing his abilities, invited him to become a master in the McGill Collegiate High School he accepted it and temporarily turned his life to the field of education.

One of his classmates, Albert A. Lewis, had taken the presidency of a seminary in Dansville near Rochester, N. Y. Its 216 students were taught by a faculty of five. It was a forerunner of the state normal schools and became as well known in New York as the Jackson Health Resort which was located in the same town.

Several months after the autumn term had begun in 1869 Lewis sent to his friend Kahler urging him to join in the management and instruction at the Seminary. In November he withdrew from the high school in Montreal to become vice-president and instructor at the Dansville Seminary, thus reëntering the United States after an absence of seven years.

In teaching he had to overcome the disadvantages of his extreme youth. Some of the male students were older than their instructor. He cultivated a dignity and reserve at the Seminary which removed any consciousness of the difference in age but his refusal to vote on election day was a subject of speculation on the part of the students who did not know that he was less than twenty-one.

Among the young people in the town, in company with his friend Lewis, he managed to enjoy more social life than he had ever known before. They lived at the beautiful and spacious home of Mr. and Mrs. Matthew McCartney whose daughter Nellie and niece, Margaret Wilson, were seminary students. Those cousins and the two young McGill professors made a lively quartette. About three and a half miles north of Dansville in a fine old country home which was called "Engleside," lived Mrs. McCartney's brother, Hugh T. McNair, with his family which included a daughter, Margaret. The four young people at the McCartney's were on one occasion invited to visit at the McNair home. Margaret McNair, however, was visiting in St. Augustine, Florida at the time and she had only a casual acquaintance with Frederick Kahler until they met in Philadelphia many years later.

When Mr. Kahler went to Dansville his father left Montreal to become pastor at Stevensville, Canada, not far from the Niagara frontier, and the young professor spent his vacations there. During this time the friendship began with the Reeb family which continued throughout his life. Mr. M. A. Reeb moved to Buffalo, prospered financially, and was a large contributor to the support of Mr. Kahler's work, serving also as treasurer of Holy Trinity Church for twenty-five years.

The two years which Mr. Kahler spent in Dansville matured him. He had found a real satisfaction in his experience as a

teacher but that satisfaction was never complete. The influences of earlier years spent in a thoroughly devout family circle filled with the atmosphere of true religion were maturing as he entered manhood. In his twenty-first year his circumstances made it possible for him to turn again to the path which his deepest desires had always inclined him to follow. These desires were for the Christian ministry. It is as probable that he never made a definite decision on the matter as that he never seriously considered the possibility of spending his life in any other way. Dr. J. F. Ohl, who knew him well for a longer period than any other man, suggests, "In the atmosphere of a Christian family Dr. Kahler grew up in the grace of his baptism. I think as he grew older he realized more and more the responsibilities of the prophetic office, and that it was a minister's first business to witness for Jesus Lord."

His daughter, Mrs. Margarethe Kahler Henrich, in thorough agreement with Dr. Ohl, adds the following valuable information:

His whole life was a looking-forward to the ministry of Christ in its deepest, freest, most single sense. He told me that as a little boy at his mother's cookie pans he planned to preach, and there have been many references by him and his sisters and his brother to his never having changed this purpose. To him, 'to preach' was in every act of living to be the ready instrument of Christ. I cannot believe that this vision was ever lost sight of, nor was it approached indirectly in 1869 or 1871. I am sure that it guided the wee boy, it was ever clear to the man, and to the old man, and was the secret of his constant rich gifts to the individual. The words come to me constantly, 'For him to live was Christ.'

Whatever may be the success which he might have achieved in education, no one can doubt that he followed his truest instincts and desires in entering the ministry. His long life revealed that his primary interest and his greater talents were in the field of religious work rather than in the acquisition or imparting of knowledge. Although his respect for purely intellectual attainment and his interest in education never ceased, he never became a highly learned man. His pursuit of the classics with serious intent did not long survive the theological studies which engaged the ministerial student. He practically ceased to cultivate them in the midst of matters which fill a busy pastor's time.

His devotion to the Christian ministry was tested repeatedly in later years. In 1883 he was approached by Gustavus Adolphus College in St. Peters, Minnesota with the proposal to become one of its faculty. In the following year he received an urgent invitation to take the chair of English Language and Literature and Moral Philosophy in Augustana College at Rock Island, Illinois. In 1889 he was urged by the Board of Foreign Missions to go to India to serve as teacher and consultant for inquiring students at Rajahmundry. In 1891 Thiel College in Greenville, Pennsylvania invited him to become its president.

The three years which he spent as a student in the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia were happy ones. It was then located on Franklin Square. It had been founded only six years before, at the time of the division at Gettysburg. Its faculty included Krauth, W. J. Mann, C. F. Shaeffer, and C. W. Shaeffer. Under their strict confessionalism dogmatics became the major study. Instruction at the Philadelphia Seminary must have differed widely from that which he had known at McGill, but a fellow-student has stated that Mr. Kahler never betrayed any intellectual difficulties, either in class or in conversation, with the doctrines of the church. His fine mind absorbed quickly. His critical faculties are more elusive. In gauging men and situations he gave evidence of an excellent discernment. An occasional brief comment revealing that he had discovered the core of some specific human problem or of some tangle in organization, disclosed his penetrating insight. But he seems either to have neglected the use of critical analysis in intellectual matters or deliberately to have refrained from critical comment, regarding it as a less forceful means of exerting influence. The dominating impression which was made by the strong and skillful dogmatists in the Seminary faculty may account for the fact that the theological views which were instilled in his seminary days remained essentially unchanged, without modification or elaboration until his death.

Seminary experience very often results in a rather subtle assumption of clerical mannerisms which are considered appropriate in the conduct of "men of the cloth." Dr. Kahler was notably free from these. His manner was always a completely natural

expression of his true personality. His presence remained the same in the pulpit, in all public contacts, and in pastoral relations, as in the midst of his home and in the circle of his intimate friends. To his fellow theological students he was the same cheery, genial, tolerant, fine-spirited soul that thousands of others were to know in years to come.

In his senior year he lived at the parsonage of historic St. Michael's Church in Germantown, of which Dr. C. W. Shaeffer was then pastor. He acted as superintendent of its Sunday school, taught the catechetical class, preached once every four weeks, and went daily into Philadelphia to attend his classes at the Seminary.

Dr. Shaeffer while pastor at St. Michael's had undertaken to teach at the Seminary. The double task taxed him and he arranged with the vestry of St. Michael's to employ an assistant out of his own salary of \$1,400. Student Kahler was chosen by Dr. Shaeffer for the position but the remuneration, if any, in addition to his living, is not known. The congregation took young Kahler to its heart. Evidently the people became aware in time of some coolness on the part of Dr. Shaeffer toward his assistant. At the annual congregational meeting in the middle of the winter of 1873-74 it was decided to appoint a committee to inquire into the condition on which Mr. Kahler was serving as assistant and to have an understanding between the congregation and Mr. Kahler on the subject. At the next meeting, in April, 1874, the committee reported that Mr. Kahler would continue as Dr. Shaeffer's assistant until the end of the time Dr. Shaeffer wished to continue at St. Michael's and that Mr. Kahler had agreed to entertain no call to any church until St. Michael's had an opportunity to call him as their pastor. This arrangement continued until the next year. In the meanwhile Mr. Kahler had completed his seminary work and had been ordained at Lancaster, Pa., on June 3rd by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, strangely enough before he had actually been called by a church. In the following January Dr. Shaeffer, in order to give full time to the Seminary, resigned at St. Michael's, but the resignation was not to become effective until June 15th. The congregation thereupon elected him pastor emeritus without pay or use of the parsonage and elected Rev. Kahler as pastor at a salary of

\$1,000 and, since he was unmarried, the privilege of renting the parsonage. Rev. Kahler accepted the call and was installed in the autumn, Dr. Seiss preaching the installation sermon. Thereafter he served as regular pastor for nine years. His sister, Emma, came to make the parsonage into a home for him. The chief event of these years was the Centennial Exhibition in Fairmount Park, but he saw little of it. In the summer of 1876 he and his sister were stricken in the prevailing epidemic of typhoid fever, and were seriously ill for eleven weeks.

Late in the spring of 1879 an echo from Dansville reached the parsonage in Germantown. A visitor at the home of Mrs. A. O. Granger in West Philadelphia sent her card to Rev. Kahler and with it conveyed greetings from his Dansville friend, Mrs. McCartney. The card bore the name of Margaret Torbert McNair at whose home he and his friends had been so hospitably received almost ten years before. When the young minister now came to call on Miss McNair in Philadelphia she thought that he appeared "rather ascetic-looking." This is the only recorded occasion on which he gave such an impression. It may be surmised that her Presbyterian eyes thus interpreted the unexpected sight of his clerical garb.

The first call was prolonged. She was "dated" for a drive in the Wissahickon for the next day and for tea in Germantown. Within two months after her return to Dansville he visited her there. Before another month had passed they were married in her home, "Engleside," on August 5th, 1879. Clara Barton was at that time a resident in the little community but it has not been learned how well she was acquainted with the McNairs.

It is difficult to overestimate the contribution which Mrs. Kahler made to her husband's life. She was an exquisitely lovely woman. Her fine culture, her tireless energy, her unmeasured devotion, and her active mind created a home in which his whole personality expanded. She had a creative faculty and power of critical analysis which were of frequent use to him. She had a facile pen and in later years became a regular contributor to *The Lutheran Woman's Work*. Their three sons were educated at Princeton and their two daughters at Vassar. The eldest son,

Hugh McNair Kahler, has achieved a high place among the better known writers of short stories.

Through the McNairs Rev. Kahler formed a friendship which was greatly to enrich his life. For many years the McNair and Gregory families, parents and children, had been intimately associated and warmly attached to each other. A brother and sister in the Gregorys had married a sister and brother in the McNairs. Their mothers had been pioneers in Presbyterian missionary work. The most brilliant of the Gregory sons was Caspar René, famous for his work in New Testament textual criticism. When Dr. Gregory went to Germany in 1873 he wrote to Margaret McNair occasionally. She was visiting one of his sisters, Mrs. A. O. Granger, in Philadelphia at the time she sent her card to the pastor of St. Michael's. When Margaret McNair became Mrs. Kahler her husband joined in the correspondence with Dr. Gregory. Their friendship was sealed when Dr. Gregory visited in Buffalo on his trip to America early in the nineties. He preached in Dr. Kahler's church at various times. Their common interest in Greek texts formed an intellectual bond which ripened into warm personal relations. "They glowed in each other's presence and were like gay boys, eager, alert, and challenging the deepest respectful interest in each other," says Dr. Kahler's daughter. When Dr. Gregory died on April 9th, 1917 while serving with the German army in France, although it was a time when war spirit ran high with America's entrance into the conflict, Dr. Kahler fearlessly published his grief in the words which David used for Jonathan, "How are the mighty fallen in the midst of battle. O Jonathan, thou wast slain in thy high places. I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan; very pleasant hast thou been unto me; thy love was wonderful, passing the love of woman."

When *The Lutheran Church Review* was planned in 1881 Rev. Kahler was much interested in the project. For its first issue he supplied six book reviews. In the following years he continued to be a heavy contributor to this department. The book notices constitute an interesting revelation of his intellectual development in the early years of ministerial life. His reading ranged widely from biblical commentaries to homiletic aids. He was stirred by

admiration for Westcott and Hort's text of the New Testament when it appeared in 1881, and by Philip Schaff's *Companion to the Greek Testament* in 1883. He was impressed by the publication in the same year of the rediscovered "Didache." Books on religious history and religious biography attracted his attention. His reviews covered current publications in England and Germany as well as in America. They are on the whole laudatory with but little discrimination. Criticism centered on the two subjects, Darwinian evolution and higher criticism of the Old Testament. He did not condemn them unread. He waded through Darwin's *Formation of Vegetable Mould through the Action of Earth Worms* and recognized its scientific value, urging that Darwin would do well to apply himself to special researches instead of enlarging upon his unsettling theories. He lamented that the eminent William Robertson Smith advocated the views which he presented in his *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, and praised lesser works by R. P. Stebbins and H. Clay Trumbull. Two of his early reviews reveal that he was not a complete conformist. He poked fun at a bearded Pharaoh, a Teutonic Jesus, and a bespectacled Pilate in the illustrations of a Biblical history for young people. Concerning a volume on Onesimus by Rev. E. A. Abbott he confessed, "Having pointed out this seriously damaging feature [unorthodoxy] we may safely say that we have seldom read a more captivatingly interesting and generally instructive book."

To the third volume of the Review he contributed a translation of an article by Dr. Julius Köstlin on Luther's last intercourse with Staupitz in 1524, in which newly discovered evidence was presented that no estrangement developed between Staupitz and Luther after Luther's break with the church in 1520. In 1897 a second article from his pen appeared in the Review. It is a panegyric on Martin Luther. It reveals a style which was characteristic of Dr. Kahler in public speech. The guess may be hazarded that it had served as a Reformation Day address, or that it was a compendium of several addresses.

Among the people of St. Michael's Church he was held in continued esteem and affection. It was an old, established congre-

gation. The first church had been built in 1717, a few years before Benjamin Franklin came to Philadelphia. It was rebuilt in 1740 under George II. For more than a century and a half its buildings and its people had played a notable part in American history. The church in which Rev. Kahler preached had been built in 1818. Its age and long history did not make it an easy field in which to work. Its congregation numbered between 300 and 400. Its growth was limited by the natural boundaries of the parish and by the fact that Germantown was filling up with people who favored the Presbyterian, Baptist, and other churches. While he was in Germantown he held his only public office. Expanding public schools temporarily occupied several rooms in St. Michael's Sunday school and Rev. Kahler served for a time on the school board.

In ten years his abilities had become widely recognized. With his extended pastoral experience and the ripeness of a man in his thirty-fourth year he was ready for larger opportunity. In 1884, after deciding not to join the faculty of Augustana College, he received calls to two of the only three English Lutheran churches of the General Council in the state of New York. One of them came from the Church of the Reformation in Rochester but he accepted the more challenging invitation which was extended by the Holy Trinity Lutheran Church in Buffalo. Here he remained until his death forty-seven years later.

Although the first Lutheran Church in Buffalo had been established in 1932, Lutheran worship continued to be exclusively German for almost half a century. A new generation of English-speaking Lutherans had grown to adult years, but it was not until 1879, five years before the coming of Rev. Kahler, that an English Lutheran Church was successfully organized. Under the leadership of its first pastor, Rev. L. W. Geschwind, and the merchant, William Hengerer, the first steps were taken. The French Protestant Church consolidated with the newly founded Holy Trinity Lutheran Church and the building of the former group, at Ellicott and Tupper Streets was secured for worship. The church was self-supporting from the beginning.

The resignation of the first pastor at the end of five years brought discouragement to the struggling group. This disap-

peared with their success in securing the promising Kahler from Pennsylvania. It speaks well for the judgment of their new pastor that he could grasp the large possibilities of the English Lutheran work in the growing city of Buffalo and that he desired to identify himself with it even in its humbler beginnings. Fortunately its membership included exceptionally strong leaders in William Hengerer, A. J. Kurtz, Henry Koons, and the two Beckers.

Dr. Kahler at an early date had a vision of larger service in Buffalo than the care of the congregation which had called him, and he inspired its members with his own vision. What this vision was, will become apparent as a brief account of the following years is unfolded.

Immediate success attended his earliest efforts. The congregation and Sunday school grew steadily and rapidly from the first. Within two years a branch Sunday school was opened on Eagle Street. To it the valuable services of Mr. Gustav Kleindinst and a corps of teachers were unselfishly transferred. Within three years the rapidly growing Holy Trinity found its church building inadequate and an extension was erected whose cost (\$8,000) was wiped out in five years. The Eagle Street Sunday school also grew rapidly and a unique project in Home Missions was undertaken. A subsidiary congregation was planned but association with the mother church continued. Holy Trinity, at its annual meeting in 1893, authorized its trustees to purchase a property on Eagle Street and appointed a building committee to proceed with a proposed building. Rev. W. L. Hunton came the next year to take charge of the new work. A joint church council remained in charge until the new congregation was formally organized in 1895 with the name, The Church of the Atonement. For building and maintenance of the new church until it assumed its own support Holy Trinity contributed \$8,500. In the same years Dr. Kahler and his loyal people were undertaking a second step of a similar nature. Holy Trinity's building on Ellicott Street was in a poor and non-residential neighborhood. The west side of the city was becoming a section of fine homes. In this section Dr. Kahler and Holy Trinity planned to establish a second branch which they hoped would in time become the leading English Lutheran church

in the city. In 1894 Holy Trinity purchased the property of the Presbyterian Church of the Redeemer on a desirable site and paid about one third of its cost in cash. A subsidiary congregation of Holy Trinity members in this neighborhood was also organized. It included nine of the twelve deacons and a strong group of the members of the parent church. For some months the three congregations were conducted with a joint church council. Rev. F. P. Bossart of Pittsburgh was called as associate pastor of the united work. In October, 1895, the Church of the Redeemer became independent and Rev. Bossart became its first pastor. Dr. Kahler preferred to remain at Holy Trinity.

The absence of selfish ambition is apparent in all this. What the establishment of these two daughter churches meant in loss of membership and financial support to the mother church can be easily understood, but new accessions more than maintained Holy Trinity's congregation. Its growth continued steadily in spite of the fact that members were readily yielded to other new churches which were being fostered in turn.

Rev. Kahler's success in the first decade of his Buffalo pastorate became widely known in General Council circles. Thiel College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity and desired him for a president. He was sought by churches in Greensburg, Pa. and Easton, Pa. Especially inviting were the opportunities to go to the First Lutheran Church in Pittsburgh and Holy Trinity Church in New York City, but they left him unmoved.

His decision to remain in Buffalo at Holy Trinity modified the expectation that the Church of the Redeemer would become the leading Lutheran Church. With Dr. Kahler's leadership that destiny could only belong to Holy Trinity. When this became apparent in 1897 the conviction arose that a great central church must be erected. Years were spent in selecting its site on Main Street and in planning for the building. Not until 1903 was its erection begun. The beautiful large Gothic structure of white Medina stone remains one of the outstanding church buildings in Buffalo. The first service in the new church was attended by 1,507 people. It is by no means the crowning achievement in Dr. Kahler's life but its size and beauty are fitting symbols of his great

vision and the vision with which he inspired the people who built it, furnished it, and paid for it within sixteen years.

While plans for the new church were growing into reality Dr. Kahler was taking an important part in synodical readjustments. The historic Ministerium of New York had grown rapidly after 1839 as a result of a great wave of immigration from northern Germany. German was used exclusively in its churches for thirty years. The first English Lutheran church in the Ministerium was organized at Rochester in 1869. Thirty years later the number of English Lutheran churches had grown to fifteen. In their problems and their program for growth they differed from the older churches and their petition to organize an English conference within the Ministerium was granted in 1896. The inevitable shift of membership to the English churches and their energy in starting new congregations was not fully appreciated by the dominant German element. Conflicting claims led to much friction. After five years it appeared that the organization of an English synod would provide the only solution for the tense situation. In 1902 the president of the English Conference was requested by its members to appoint a committee of five to draft a memorial asking that the Ministerium dismiss the English churches and their pastors to enable them to organize the new synod. There was no question of doctrinal unity. Dr. Kahler was about twenty years older than any other of the English ministers and he was appointed at the head of the committee. Their petition was approved by the older body and the new synod was organized at Utica in the same year. Dr. Kahler was elected to its presidency in 1911 but withdrew at the end of the year because of his health and his overwhelming obligations in Buffalo. These likewise prevented him from lending the full weight of his ability in positions of leadership in the larger church bodies. He deliberately allowed nothing to interfere with his work in Buffalo. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the General Council met in his church in 1907. He was a delegate at the "merger meeting" in New York in 1918 when the United Lutheran Church was formed, and offered the prayer of consecration. The third convention of the United Lutheran Church met in Holy Trinity in 1922. He attended every one of

its conventions which were held before his death. In 1929 he and Mrs. Kahler made their only trip to Europe where he attended the Lutheran World Convention in Copenhagen, and afterward travelled through Germany, France, England, and Scotland. For the last twenty-four years of his life he served as his synod's representative on the Board of Directors of the Lutheran Seminary in Philadelphia. His attendance at its meetings was irregular for the first part of this period and it does not appear that he made any outstanding contribution to the problems and policies of the Seminary. He lived long enough to participate in the merging of the three synods which formed the United Lutheran Synod of New York in 1929 and bestowed his benediction on it.

The same preoccupation with the extensive demands of his large pastoral responsibilities left little opportunity for him to share in the civic leadership of his city. It is probable that he never had the inclination to do more than serve as critic in the interdenominational Minister's Association of Buffalo. It can not be said that he shirked leadership in public affairs. He firmly believed that the minister should be a force for righteousness in the individual lives of the citizens of his community and that they would as a consequence promote public welfare more worthily. He feared a limitation of influence, even disaster for the minister who tried to influence public opinion on the issues of the day which were not distinctly religious. Behind this conviction probably lay his characteristic disinclination to take part in any controversial matter, and debate is inseparable from every public movement. In his own case, at least, his conviction was justified. The members of his church were among the prominent leaders of many civic enterprises. They held influential positions in the city government, and were counted among the successful men in business, in the professions, and in charitable organizations.

Confinement of his time and energies to religious work was justified also by the large success which marked his labors. Steady growth of Holy Trinity continued without interruption after the completion of the new church. Communicant membership increased to the number of 1,800. Probably between four and five thousand people in Buffalo claimed "Kahler's Church" as their own, and

were accustomed to call upon him for pastoral services. A series of assistant pastors shared in the tremendous work from 1913 until his death. The Sunday school and other organizations grew and prospered. The church became the center of a common social life for its members, permeated with his genial spirit.

He, however, had little regard for size and organization and refused to emphasize them. Seasonal successes were no part of his program. He thought in terms of life and long-time achievement. The spectacular in advertising, in sermonizing, in any method of attracting a large congregation of curiosity seekers was abhorrent to him. He lived to see the departure of other ministers of the city who pursued a program of that kind. By unremitting toil and endless travel over the streets of the growing city he worked to draw an even greater number of people into the fold of the church where he could care for them like a shepherd. They came from all classes of society and from many faiths, including the Catholic. These, having experienced his strong helpfulness and warm-heartedness, brought others. Their children, and in time their grand-children learned to cherish him and to look to him. The full story of his influence in the lives of thousands of people can never be told. With his guidance and inspiration two generations of young people grew into mature men and women in whose lives a true spirit of Christianity prevailed. His greatest achievement consisted in this. The fine body of sterling Christian people at the core of Holy Trinity Church was his crowning glory. Many others who had felt his strong influence had assumed the responsibility of the leadership in other churches but their ties with Dr. Kahler remained unbroken.

The explanation of his profound power in the lives of his people is difficult to set forth. His sermons have not lived. In his prime he was regarded as a powerful man and a great speaker. For many years his church was filled at every service. His sermons contained no novelties of thought. How well their contents were organized and systematically presented we do not know. He developed a happy faculty of stating ideas in cleverly balanced epigrammatic sentences which easily lingered in the minds of the people. He scattered seed in his preaching instead of building an

intellectual structure. He did not carry his Greek and Latin scholarship with him into the pulpit. His people are not accustomed to praise any great discourses which he delivered but they recall many occasions when they carried home a phrase or two which greatly inspired them to a more Christian life. Above all, behind his words was the powerful personality of a truly great Christian man. His very presence in the pulpit quickened the hearts of those who loved him, had a strengthening influence on those who were weak, brought comfort to the sorrowing and new life to the discouraged.

His prayers were more impressive than his sermons. In felicitous phrases which at the same time seemed to be wholly unstudied and spontaneous, he could transfer his congregation to the very throne of God; and his benedictions brought them back from that throne to go forth in the world with a renewed confidence in God's love and guidance.

Some explanation of the profound place which he held in the hearts of his people is to be found in his ceaseless visitations in their homes. It was no task but a joy to him. When he came he conveyed no sense that he was fulfilling a professional duty and that time was valuable. He shared their joys and sorrows sincerely and radiated hopefulness and love. His prayers left a feeling of consecration in the midst of family circles where they were uttered and many a painful and tedious illness was lightened by them.

Wherever he went he was the embodiment of a radiant optimism. He habitually influenced men and women to believe that the present, whether wholly satisfactory or not, was part of the road to better things. It is reported that in the midst of the German-English controversies of the New York Ministerium he offered the prayer, "Lord, we thank Thee for these blessed embarrassments." It is perhaps not an unwarranted exaggeration to say that when he visited in homes where death impended he could create a feeling that it would be a happy and desirable experience. In Germantown the story is told that to an elderly lady who came to him fearful that she did not have the grace to face death he replied, "God does not ask of us that we carry our dying grace around with us while we live."

The World War brought to him distress in mind and body. When it began in 1914 he saw in it more than a blunder of statesmanship. To him, God's judgment seemed to move in its black clouds and the sin which prevailed in the world seemed a greater evil than any war. When America entered, he urged prompt response to the nation's call but he added, "In a land where there is high and holy liberty, the duty is not so simple. Because every citizen has a share in the formation of government, he has a share in the responsibility of making the nation's policy. He cannot blindly follow without conscientiously weighing what he is helping the nation to do." One hundred and sixty-three of his people entered the nation's service. A long well-balanced life enabled him to pass through the war's hysteria and hatred of the enemy without yielding to it. As the war continued into the second year he identified America's cause with that of the Kingdom of God on earth and strengthened his people's faith in God's help in time of need. After the armistice he hoped that the high ideals with which America entered the war would have great influence in the final ordering of world peace.

Some months later he was stricken with serious illness. An operation was necessary which threatened his life. Recovery was slow and he never fully regained his vigor.

The last decade of his life was a period of reaping and he was ever present in the harvest field. Vast sums were raised for the annual budget and benevolence. Large amounts were contributed to the development of the local Lutheran orphanage and of the old folk's home, to the erection of the Cornell Chapel, to European relief, to the Ministerial Pension Fund. Alterations in the church cost \$23,000. An endowment fund of \$52,049 was raised for Holy Trinity on its fiftieth anniversary. Nineteen hundred and twenty-four was the fortieth year of Dr. Kahler's pastorate in Buffalo. A purse of \$3,000 was presented to him, and his portrait was painted by Miss Florence Julia Bach. In the following year Muhlenberg College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. In 1927 he was made pastor emeritus with full salary and provision to take such part in the preaching and pastoral work as

he desired. In this relation he lived less than four years. Death came in 1931;

“ . . . he went down  
As when a lordly cedar, green with boughs,  
Goes down with a great shout upon the hill  
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky.”

EDWIN MARKHAM.

## ROMAN INTOLERANCE

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A MODERN novelist has referred to "this Laodicean cant of tolerance." It is a fitting description, for much that passes as tolerance is nothing but indifference parading under an assumed name, while much that is branded as intolerance is really the fidelity of conviction. So whenever we approach the question of toleration we must be very sure as to just what we mean.

There is a deep inner intolerance that inevitably accompanies the recognition of the truth. As holiness cannot tolerate sin, so truth cannot tolerate falsehood. The moment that anyone concedes the possibility of all religions being equally true he has condemned all as equally false. As soon as he thinks that other religions have the same right to exist as Christianity, he has repudiated that faith which claims for itself the only way of life, whose Founder declared himself the only source of the truth and the only means of access to God; who denounced all who came with another teaching than his as thieves and robbers; and one of whose apostles proclaimed the truth that "there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved," while another was equally insistent that there is only "one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus."

Christianity has never been any broader than the narrow way and the straight gate established by God, and it is intolerant of every other religion. In the forum of God there is not even room for freedom of belief. Neither Alexander Pope's "Universal Prayer," nor Lessing's fine tale of the three rings in *Nathan der Weise* express the spirit of Christianity. They are both its negation. Man's only right in religion is to accept what has been disclosed by God in his historic revelation as the truth. A dogmatic toleration that would reduce objective truth to subjective opinion is in itself an apostasy. So we can quite agree with Pope Leo XIII when he says: "The gravest obligation requires the accept-

ance and practice, not of the religion which one may choose, but of that which God prescribes and which is known by certain and indubitable marks to be the only true one.”<sup>1</sup>

What occasion do we have then to be writing about Roman intolerance? There are two considerations that involve two errors. In the first place those of the Roman faith have resorted to false subjective standards for the determination of what is the truth of the Christian religion; for the *consensus patrum*, the traditions of the church and the decrees of the councils and popes all seek to establish truths on a purely subjective basis which not only goes beyond God’s revelation and adds to what has been given by Christ, and through his apostles, but which even contradicts portions of that revelation as it is found in Scripture. One of the resulting errors, which concerns the nature of the church and her authority, leads to the second point of difference between us. It is the error which teaches that because the church is to tolerate no error nor false doctrine she is therefore, when it seems advantageous, to use force, the power of human coercion or the might of secular agencies in imposing God’s revelation on men or in maintaining its authority by the sword of the flesh.

Such a policy is a contradiction of the whole spirit of the New Testament, and this is the intolerance against which we must protest. It is the substitution of a mechanical coercion for a spiritual conviction, of the sword of the flesh for the sword of the spirit. It ignores the fact that Jesus Christ expressly said, “My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews”; that he told the “Sons of Thunder” when they wanted to call down fire from heaven on the Samaritan village, “Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of;” that he commanded Peter to put up his sword; that he even refused to call to his aid the ten legions of angels he could so easily have summoned; and that he who commanded that the unreconciled offender should become to his disciples as a heathen and a publican and that they should shake off the dust from their feet against those who would not receive them,

1 The footnotes to this article are given on pp. 67-73.

never said that such offenders were to be tortured, imprisoned or put to death.

It is strange that the one who claims to be the successor of Peter should on occasion have followed the wrong Peter, the Peter who in some things was not yet fully converted, the rash man of violence, force and profane denial, rather than the glorious Peter who humbly called himself "a servant and an apostle of Jesus Christ," who could exhort men to be happy if they suffered for righteousness' sake and admonished them to leave the fate of the unrighteous to the decisions of God's own day of judgment, who exhorted them to submit to earthly rulers and ordinances and never even hinted that he or his successors would be exalted above all civil governments in this world.

Rome has always loved the Peter of the sword, and when possible has used force and violence in the suppression of the doctrine she did not approve. She has always shown herself intolerant in this sense, even though circumstances may have compelled the assumption of a cloak of toleration at various times and in various places. The situation has been well described in a statement attributed, perhaps erroneously, to the French politician Verriol: "When we are in the minority we seek toleration according to your principles; where we are in the majority we deny it to you according to our principles."<sup>2</sup> To what extent such intolerance could be carried and out of what false doctrines it has sprung we shall see presently.

First of all we must be sure that intolerance is part of the Roman system. Let the answer come from within that fold. Cardinal Newman certainly seems to regard it as such for he practically makes intolerance a mark of the church:

On the whole, then, we have reason to say that if there be a form of Christianity at this day distinguished for its careful organization, and its consequent power; if it is spread over the world; if it is conspicuous for zealous maintenance of its own creed; *if it is intolerant towards what it considers error; if it is engaged in ceaseless war with all other bodies called Christian*; if it, and it alone, is called "catholic" by the world, nay, by those very bodies, and if it makes much of the title; if it names them heretics, and warns them of coming woe, and calls on them one by one, to come to itself overlooking every other tie; and if they, on the other hand, call it

seducer, harlot, apostate, Antichrist, devil; if however much they differ one with another, they consider it their common enemy; if they strive to unite together against it, and cannot; if they are but local; if they continually subdivide, and it remains one; if they fall one after another, and make way for new sects, and it remains the same; such a religious communion is not unlike historical Christianity, as it comes before us at the Nicene Era.<sup>3</sup>

It is apparent that Newman is careful not to say just how far this "intolerance" and this "warfare" reaches. Does it include, for example, the activities of the Inquisition, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the proposal to assassinate Queen Elizabeth? Or are such incidents to be explained away as is done in the plausible presentation of the Jesuit, Herbert Thurston, who, in a clever article on the history of toleration in the Catholic Encyclopedia, would shift the onus in this fashion:

Nearly all ecclesiastical legislation in regard to the repression of heresy proceeds upon the assumption that heretics are in willful revolt against lawful authority, that they are, in fact, apostates, who by their own culpable act, have renounced the true faith into which they were baptized, breaking the engagements made by them or by their sponsors in their name when they became members of the Church of Christ. It is easy to see that in the Middle Ages this was not an unreasonable assumption. The Church of God was then indeed as a city set upon a hill. No one could be ignorant of her claims, and if certain people repudiated her authority it was by an act of rebellion inevitably carrying with it a menace to the sovereignty which the rest of the world accepted.

That sects which destroyed public order were to be put down was a proposition which even Luther would endorse and with which we all agree. This principle has been observed in this country for example in dealing with the Mormons and their teachings concerning polygamy, and in Canada with some of the wild Russian sects that attempted to run naked around the community. Those who destroy public order or would overturn secular authority cannot be tolerated by the secular government even if they try to shield their conduct behind the pretense of religious beliefs. But this is a business of the civil authorities and not of the church, and whether this principle can be extended to cover the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the repressive legislation of Roman

Catholic sovereigns in Poland and Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is quite another question.

In this same connection we are startled to read the statement that, "The Church has often given proof of her moderation when brought into relation with those whom she was not logically compelled to treat as rebels" (meaning the heathen and the Jews). Of course this assertion would seem to have some support in the statement of Leo XIII in the Encyclical *Immortale Dei*, of Nov. 1, 1885, where the Pontiff avers that "The Church has always taken great care that no one should be compelled against his will to embrace the Catholic Faith because as Augustine wisely declares: Except he be willing man cannot believe." We think instinctively of the forcible conversion of the Saxons and begin to ask whether this is a correct statement of historic facts, and then, recalling that all heretics are theoretically by virtue of their baptism those who have embraced the faith of the church, we wonder whether the avoidance of compulsion includes heretics or only those who are not yet Christians and, finally, as we remember that St. Thomas Aquinas expressly teaches that heretics may justly be put to death (*Summa Theol.* II, II, Q. XI, a. 3.), we feel sure that it does not.

So the question before us becomes first of all a question of fact. What is the actual character of Roman intolerance? That will lead us on to a consideration of the underlying reasons for such intolerance and also to the question as to whether there is an inner necessity for intolerance in the Roman system.

Before we enter upon the discussion of these questions, however, we want to turn aside for a moment to meet a *tu quoque* rejoinder that has been rather popular among Roman writers. It is the assertion that the reformers were no better than the popes when it came to the question of toleration. With the attitude of the Calvinists, Cryptocalvinists and the Zwinglians we are not concerned, but we should like to make it clear to the English reader (the German has plenty of material at his disposal on this subject) that Luther did not approve the use of compulsion in combating heresy except in those cases where it really led to disturbances of a civil nature and threatened the destruction of civil order. Just a few statements of his position will suffice. In that great reform-

atory work, *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation etc.*, 1520, he writes:

God has commanded the keeping of a safe conduct. This should be observed, even though the world should perish, to say nothing of getting rid of one heretic, so we should do as the old fathers have done, overcome the heretics with writings and not with fire. If it were an art to overcome heretics with fire then the executioners would be the most learned doctors on earth and there would be no object in studying any more because the one who overcomes his opponent by force could burn him.<sup>4</sup>

In the pamphlet *Von der Wiedertaufe, an zwei Pfarrherrn*, 1528, he protests against religious persecution:

But it is not right and I regret that such people are so miserably murdered, burned and horribly destroyed. Each one should be allowed to believe what he will. If he believes falsehood he will have enough punishment in the eternal fire of hell. Why then should they also be tormented in this world, so long as they withstand only inwardly, in matters of faith and do not by violence or other means oppose the government? Good Lord, how quickly we can fall into error and the snare of the devil! We should withstand and overcome with Scripture and the Word of God; with fire little will be accomplished.<sup>5</sup>

He becomes still more explicit in an opinion sent to Brenz about the end of 1529:

I hesitate at the sentence of blood, even where there is sufficient guilt to warrant it. The results of the cases we have seen among the papists and among the Jews, before the time of Christ, terrify me. There it was the law that teachers of error were to be put to death and in time it came to pass that holy prophets and innocent folk were put to death under such an enactment, when godless governments made use of it and regarded whomsoever and as many as they chose so to consider as false teachers and heretics. The same thing could happen among us if it were shown by an actual example that it was proper to kill false teachers, just as among the papists, where innocent blood is shed as though it were guilty. Therefore no false teachers are to be put to death; it is enough if they are expelled.<sup>6</sup>

Again in a sermon preached on the Monday after *Invocavit* he reiterates his feeling on the subject in these words: "*Summa Summarum*. I will preach it, I will say it, I will write, but I will

not compel or drive anyone by force, because faith must be drawn willingly and without compulsion.”<sup>7</sup>

So returning from this digression, whose bright light may serve to render some of the contemporary darkness more visible, we must come back to our main theme. What is the actual official position of Rome concerning toleration and concerning the use of force in religious matters, especially in dealing with heretics?

Toleration has been condemned in principle. That is perfectly clear in the famous Syllabus of Errors of Pius IX, 1864. There the idea is condemned that the Roman faith should not have the status of the only religion to the exclusion of others and that other cults should be allowed to function or disseminate their opinions publicly. It is a condemnation of toleration in principle and further denies the right of men to believe in the truth of some other religion, the possibility of salvation outside the Roman communion or that it is possible to please God in Protestantism as in the Roman obedience.<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand we hear some fine professions written for more popular consumption that sound quite different. When reading the specious article on “Toleration” in the Catholic Encyclopedia written by Dr. J. Pohle we were struck by these words: “The Catholic Church recognizes unreservedly the inviolability of constitutions confirmed by oath, of traditional laws and regular religious compacts, because a breach of the constitution, of allegiance, of a treaty, or of our oath is a grievous sin.”

But a question arises in our mind. Does this apply when the toleration of heretics is involved or does it apply to the dealings with heretics and the excommunicate in general? It has been stated by Roman authority that agreements made under oath with heretics are not to be kept. For example, Innocent III absolved from the obligation of their oaths all those who had sworn allegiance to Markwald on the ground that we ought to serve God rather than man, which would not be such a bad reason if we could be sure that God’s honor was really involved, but which was also a position that in a specific case placed the church above the oath and made the moral question involved depend entirely on the authority of the church.<sup>9</sup>

How this theory was applied so that it resulted in an utter disregard of a solemn promise is seen in the notorious case of the burning of John Huss, which the offending Council of Constance attempted to justify, in an action of Sept. 23rd, 1415, on the ground that a safe conduct granted to a heretic was invalid. Again we see that the morality of the action is to be determined and justified entirely by the authority of the church.<sup>10</sup>

Whichever way we turn we are met by this insistence on submission to authority as the great *sine qua non* of the Christian. According to the Roman Catechism of the Council of Trent the defiance of authority constitutes the very essence of heresy, and even errors of faith can be tolerated if they do not come defiantly into collision with the authority of the church. "For a person is not to be called a heretic so soon as he errs in matters of faith: then only is he to be so called, when in defiance of the authority of the Church he maintains impious opinions, with unyielding pertinacity" (Art. IX).

Such defiance does not, however, remove the authority of the church over the heretics. In connection with the passage just quoted that is made very clear:

Hence, there are but three classes of persons excluded from her pale, infidels, heretics and schismatics, and excommunicated persons; . . . heretics and schismatics because they have separated from the Church and belong to her only as deserters belong to the army from which they have deserted. It is not, however, to be denied, that they are still subject to the jurisdiction of the Church, inasmuch as they are liable to have judgment passed on their opinions to be visited with spiritual punishments, and denounced with anathema.

Should an apostate, a heretic or a schismatic return, there is an order for the reconciliation of such provided in the *Pontificale Romanum*, III, 274 seq. Here again the submission to authority occupies first place. He returns to the unity of the apostolic chair and to a place of obedience that will allow him to be in communion with the Roman Pontiff, which is only possible when there is submission to his authority.<sup>11</sup>

Authority implies power, and all through the centuries the

right to use force when dealing with rebels against the spiritual authority of the church has been consistently maintained. When Pius IX in the Syllabus of Errors condemned the proposition that the church does not have the right to use force nor has any power of temporal rule, directly or indirectly (n. 24), he was only repeating what had been asserted time and again by his predecessors and what had found a place in the Confutation of the Augsburg Confession. Not the least offensive thing for the Romanists in the Augsburg Confession was the attack on the claim of temporal power by the hierarchy.<sup>12</sup>

The right to use compulsion has been claimed. That at once raises the question as to the extent to which the use of force should go. Does it include the right to imprison, to torture and to put men to death? Does it justify the horrors of the Inquisition and its auto-da-fé? We are often told that the actual executions were only carried out by secular authorities. That is true but it is also hard to imagine a more pitiful attempt at evasion than this plea, for the secular authorities only acted at the behest of the church, after the ecclesiastical trial and condemnation. And why beat around the bush when the right to put heretics to death has repeatedly been defended by the most honored Roman theologians and the most exalted ecclesiastical authority. We may begin with the decretal of Pope Urban II:

As you have learned from the rule of the Roman Church, impose a corresponding satisfaction, according to the motive, on those who have killed any of the excommunicated. For we do not regard as murderers those who, ardent in their zeal for the Catholic Mother against the excommunicated, have happened to kill any of them. But in order that the discipline of the same Mother Church may not be forsaken, impose on them in the above-mentioned way an act of penance by which they may be able to appease the eyes of the divine purity when directed against them, if in the aforesaid crime they should have by chance incurred any impurity according to human infirmities.<sup>13</sup>

The most outstanding of all Roman theologians, St. Thomas Aquinas, the "*doctor angelicus*," the "*princeps theologorum*," whom Leo XIII extolled in such extravagant language in his encyclical *Aeternum Patris* (Aug. 4, 1879), and whose writings Pius

X in his *Motu proprio*, *Doctoris Angelici* (June 29, 1914) directed should be the basis of all theological and philosophical teaching in Italian universities and seminaries, does not hesitate to justify the killing of heretics. This is what he says: "When the Church no longer has any hope of converting the heretic, out of care for the good of others, she separates him through excommunication from her communion and leaves him to the secular tribunal, that it may remove him from the world by death."<sup>14</sup> "Heretics who repent are indeed admitted to penance by the Church but their lives are not spared on that account."<sup>15</sup>

Bellarmino may not have reached the dizzy heights of scholastic subtlety attained by Aquinas but he certainly is quite in accord with him on the practical question of disposing of heresy. He agrees with the "angelic doctor" that a very effective method of dealing with heresy is the simple expedient of extinguishing the heretics. In the opinion of such writers it is after all not such a severe punishment, since temporal death is not as severe a penalty as excommunication, and experience shows that it is the most effective remedy for disposing of them. It is even a blessing in disguise, because the longer they would be allowed to live the greater the damnation they would heap up for themselves!<sup>16</sup>

These are not mere private opinions but are quite in accord with various papal declarations. Pope Clement VII, for example, admonished the bishop and the inquisitor of Brescia to proceed against the heretics and especially against the Lutherans in this fashion: "If they will not be converted they are to be cut off as rotten limbs of the body and are to be delivered to Satan; they shall forever forfeit their legal rights and their rights of inheritance; their property may be seized by anyone; they themselves shall be imprisoned and brought into perpetual slavery." Given at Viterbo, July 13th, 1528.<sup>17</sup>

Twenty years later, in February, 1555, Paul IV issued his Bull "*Cum ex Apostolatus officio*," which was subscribed by thirty-one cardinals and which contains some modest claims and gentle proofs of the "toleration" of the Holy See.

Since the care of the flock of the Lord has been laid on us through the obligation of the Apostolic Office, that has been entrusted to us by God, to

guard the unity of the Catholic Church, as a watchful shepherd, We, who represent God and Christ on earth and who possess the plenitude of power over nations and kingdoms, after mature consideration with our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the Roman Church, renew all excommunications and ecclesiastical penalties that have ever been promulgated by the popes against the heretics. Through this constitution issued out of the plenitude of apostolic power we determine, decree, decide (*decerimus*) and define (*definimus*), that all counts, barons, dukes, kings and emperors, who have become heretics or schismatics, or will become so in the future are subject to these ecclesiastical penalties and furthermore are ineligible for any authority and never again may regain authority. Rather they shall be punished by the temporal power, according to its judgment, with a fitting punishment unless they perform a proper penance. Then according to the graciousness and consideration of this Holy Chair, they shall be confined in a cloister there to do life-long penance, with the bread of sorrow and water of affliction, deprived of every human solace. They shall forfeit their lands, which may be seized by anyone who lives in obedience to us or our successors. This our decree shall be posted at the Basilica of St. Peter, at the Apostolic Chancellery and *in acie Campi Florae*. No one is permitted to transgress this written expression of our will. Should anyone attempt this let him know that he will bring upon him the wrath of Almighty God and the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul. Given in Rome, Feb. 17, 1555.

This decree was renewed and confirmed by Pius V, in December, 1566, and at that time was further expanded by this loving addition: "In accordance with the decrees of Paul IV, our most holy Father Pius V has decreed that the accursed heretics, so that the whole truth may be obtained from them, shall be tortured according to the judgment of the judge."<sup>18</sup>

We add a few statements from later theologians of the Jesuit order just to show that we are not mistaken in our conviction that succeeding generations still cling to the use of force. First comes Tanner, who does not even allow the use of the convenient door of escape that could be furnished by the theory of "invincible ignorance." Even those who have imbibed error "with their mother's milk are in danger of punishment for,

The death penalty is imposed on heretics by secular authority but at the behest and by direction of ecclesiastical authority. For this reason the secular government cannot exempt a heretic who has been delivered to secular authority from this penalty. This penalty applies not only to the heretics who were formerly Catholics and who have lapsed as adults, but also to the

heretics who have imbibed their heresy with their mother's milk and who stubbornly defend this heresy. This is the universal teaching.<sup>19</sup>

A little later the method of execution became more merciful, for the repentant heretic had a chance of being strangled before he was burned. This is the way that the Jesuit Petra Santa describes the situation in Rome in his time :

In Rome no one is punished with death for the first heresy, unless he is an heresiarch. After he has recanted his heresy he is only punished and then liberated. Only those who have lapsed back into the same heresy are condemned to death, but they are not burned alive. If they are converted and renounce their error they are first strangled to death and then burned. If they remain stubborn they are burned alive, but this is not done in severity but in the hope of boiling out their stubbornness and moving them to the confession of the true faith through the severity of the punishment.<sup>20</sup>

We pass over the suggestion of the assassination of Queen Elizabeth and the thanksgiving for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, as they are too familiar to need repetition. We hurry along to our own times for one more Jesuit comment. As Grisar meditates on these sad episodes of the past he sighs as he is forced to admit their dreadfulness; but he still maintains that the blame rests with the heretics, for "through the pertinacity of their own wills the unfortunates (the heretics) brought the penalty of death on themselves."<sup>21</sup>

Of course, we are told, no one would proceed to such extreme measures today. This is always the protestation of Roman writers who would lay all the blame of past cruelties on the spirit of those times, forgetting for the moment that Janssen and his school try to picture some of those very times as a sort of golden age. All the more startling then is a panegyric on the fires of the Inquisition that appeared reprinted, and without a word in deprecation of its sentiments, Sept. 29, 1895, in the *Analecta ecclesiastica, Revue Romaine*, a journal edited by Fr. Felix Cadene, a domestic prelate of Leo XIII. In it there is reprinted an account of a sentence of the Inquisition on a priest, Peter Fernandez de Alcaudete, who had been accused of Jewish heresy and who was condemned to be burned alive. To this was added the following laudation of the Inquisition by P. Pius a Langenio, *ord. min. cap.* :

Undoubtedly there will be many among the sons of darkness who, when they read this sentence, will let loose with rolling eyes, inflated cheeks and distended nostrils against the so-called intolerance of the Middle Ages. The worthlessness of such talk we do not have to make clear to our readers. . . . With perfect right the ecclesiastical and civil laws fought against such sycophants (meaning the heretics) so that the flock should not be destroyed by the wolves in the sheepfold. Wolves should remain with the wolves, but if they come clothed in sheep's clothing to devour the lambs they should be driven out of the sheepfold with fire and sword. . . . Far be it from us then that confused by the obscurities of liberalism, that clothes itself in the garments of wisdom, we seek weak reasons for the defense of the Holy Inquisition. Away with the talk about the nature of the times, of exaggerated zeal, as though we had to apologize for our Holy Mother, the Church, on account of the acts of Holy Inquisition, whether in Spain or elsewhere. The religious peace and steadfast faith that adorns the Spanish people is the result of the fortunate vigilance of the Holy Inquisition. [Strange reading today!] O blessed flames of the faggots! By you, through the destruction of a few hopelessly corrupt men, thousands upon thousands of souls were delivered from the pits of error and eternal damnation; through you civil society has likewise been beautifully secured beforehand against dissensions and civil warfare and has been maintained happy and unscathed through unbroken centuries. [Strange reading today!] O glorious and illustrious memory of Thomas Torquemada [who burned 2,000 heretics], who through prudent zeal and unshakable steadfastness, while he did not compel Jews and unbelievers to be baptized, yet by wholesome fear, through the coöperation of both powers, in praiseworthy fashion, prevented the apostasy of the baptized and thus gained a greater and nobler posterity for his fatherland than that which resulted from the annexation of the Indies!<sup>22</sup>

All this is not only strange reading today but it is likewise a curious commentary on the professions of the loving and gentle spirit exercised by the church.

Presently we shall see another manifestation of the same spirit of intolerance as it is inherent in the claims of the papacy, but those claims are only the culmination and unification of certain other claims that already lay dormant in an existing false doctrine, long before there seemed any possibility of the extravagant claims of papal prerogative ever being realized. As we look further we shall find that the root of all such errors lies in the false doctrine of the church which sees the essence of the church in a sacerdotal hierarchy, a priestly authority, that by an inevitable logic must pre-

serve its authority without toleration of any rival authority and by every means possible. It would not be true to itself if it did not strive to preserve that authority in every sphere in which it claims for itself the right to rule, for ruling is essential to its very existence as authority. The idea of authority in the specific sense of Roman theology is the conception of a spiritual *Imperium Romanum*, and this conception lies at the bottom of all Roman intolerance. That will become evident as soon as we contemplate more fully the various claims and utterances of the Roman Curia.

Even the ministration of the grace of a sacrament (with the possible exception of Baptism, though even here there is an implied submission, in the requirement that it must have been administered according to the intention of the church, must be contingent on obedience to the church. Men must bow the knee to the authority of the earthly church before they can receive the blessings of a heavenly grace, even if they share all the beliefs of Roman theology with the exception only of the required submission to its authority, because they are then still schismatics.<sup>23</sup> Above every other requirement in the Roman system comes this demand for obedience, because faith itself and the very authority of Scripture depends on the authority of the church. It is the obedience of the laity to the clergy, of the lesser orders to the bishops, of the bishops to the pope. And all this is an inevitable consequence of the false conception of the nature of the church. According to this false doctrine the church is forever divided into two castes, that of the clergy and that of the laity. The one holds the sacramental and spiritual treasures of the church and dispenses them to the other; the one gives and the other receives; the one rules and the other is governed.<sup>24</sup>

The essential existence of the church depends on the priesthood. This was very clearly stated in the decrees of the Council of Trent when, in the twenty-third session, Ch. IV, it made the following declaration:

But, forasmuch as in the sacrament of Order, as also in Baptism and Confirmation, a character is imprinted, which can neither be effaced nor taken away; the holy Synod with reason condemns the opinion of those who assert that the priests of the New Testament have only a temporary power; and

that those who have once been rightly ordained, can again become laymen, if they do not exercise the ministry of the Word of God. And if anyone affirm, that all Christians indiscriminately are priests of the New Testament, or that they are mutually endowed with an equal spiritual power, he clearly does nothing but confound the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which is as an army set in array; as if, contrasting to the doctrine of the blessed Paul, all were apostles, all prophets, all evangelists, all pastors, all doctors. Wherefore the holy Synod declares, besides the other ecclesiastical degrees, bishops, who have succeeded to the place of the apostles, principally belong to this hierarchial order; that they are placed, as the same apostle says, by the Holy Ghost to rule the Church of God; that they are superiors to priests, administer the sacrament of Confirmation; ordain the ministers of the Church; and that they can perform very many other things; over which functions others of an inferior order have no power. Furthermore, the sacred and holy Synod teaches, that, in the ordination of bishops, priests, and of the other orders, neither the consent, nor vocation, nor authority, whether of the people, or of any civil power or magistrate whatsoever, is required in such wise that, without this, the ordination is invalid: Yea rather doth it decree, that all those who, being only called and instituted by the people, or by the civil power and magistrate, ascend to the exercise of these ministrations, and those who of their own rashness assume them to themselves, are not ministers of the church, but are to be looked upon as thieves and robbers, who have not entered by the door.

This declaration is followed by the canons on the "Sacrament of Order," which are of such importance for the understanding of the fundamental teachings of Rome that we give most of them in full.

Canon I. If any one saith, that there is not in the New Testament a visible and external priesthood; or that there is not any power of consecrating and offering the true body and blood of the Lord, and of forgiving and retaining sins; but only an office and bare ministry of preaching the Gospel; or, that those who do not preach are not priests at all; let him be anathema.

Notice that the very sacrifice of the mass, the centre of all Roman religious life, depends on the existence of an external, authoritative priesthood, which, as soon becomes apparent, depends for its existence on an authoritative certification through the legal transmission of a certain occult power. The Second Canon makes this clear:

Canon II. If any one saith, that, besides the priesthood, there are not in the Catholic Church other orders, both greater and minor, by which, as by certain steps, advance is made into the priesthood; let him be anathema.

Canons III, IV, and V then insist that ordination is a sacrament instituted by Christ, by which the Holy Ghost and an indelible character are given the one ordained, so that he can never again become a layman, because he has been authoritatively inducted into the sacred caste, and that sacred unction is required in this ordination. Then follow the canons that decree the necessity of a judicial hierarchy for the continued existence of the church.

Canon VI. If any one saith, that, in the Catholic Church there is not a hierarchy by divine ordination instituted, consisting of bishops, priests and ministers; let him be anathema.

Canon VII. If any one saith, that bishops are not superior to priests; or, that they have not the power of confirming and ordaining; or, that the power which they possess is common to them and to priests; or, that orders, conferred by them, without the consent, or vocation of the people, or of the secular power, are invalid; or, that those who have neither been rightly ordained, nor sent, by ecclesiastical and canonical power, but come from elsewhere, are lawful ministers of the word and of the sacraments; let him be anathema.

Canon VIII. If any one saith, that the bishops, who are assumed by authority of the Roman Pontiff, are not legitimate and true bishops, but are a human figment; let him be anathema.

All Roman theologians recognize these propositions as fundamental to the whole Roman system. We might venture to say that they are in their way just as fundamental to them as the ecumenical Creeds. Bellarmine particularly defined this side of the church with great clearness. He clearly stated it in the oft quoted description of the church as an assembly of men bound together by the same Christian faith, by participation in the same Sacraments and by "the rule of legitimate pastors," which church he declares is "an assembly of men as visible and tangible as the assembly of the people of Rome, the Kingdom of Gaul or the Republic of Venice."<sup>25</sup>

Now this visible body, with its two divisions of those who rule and those who are ruled, is governed by a hierarchy of ascending degrees, as is evident in the decrees of the Council of Trent and in

every authoritative utterance of Rome down to the latest Canon Law and the Anti-Modernistic oath of Pope Pius X. And as this hierarchy is of divine institution, according to Roman theology, it becomes imperative to defend its authority because it is a part of the faith and of the essential constitution of the church which without it cannot rightly impart the faith.<sup>26</sup>

Back of all these errors, of course, lie half truths. The church is certainly not a mere Platonic dream, an invisible figment of ideas; it does have a real ministry instituted by Christ; it does possess a real spiritual authority; the Revelation it imparts to men through the Word is as authoritative as God himself, for it comes from God. The grace it ministers is as real and objective as God himself, for it comes from God; but all that is vastly different from the materialistic, earthly, temporal conceptions that are here expressed or implied, which involve an authority that must express itself, on occasion, by external coercion, whether it be in the imposition of a penance or in the forfeiture of life, in the telling of so many beads or in a journey to Canossa.

According to the Roman conception the very continuity, permanence and propagation of the church depends on the perpetuation of a hierarchy and of its authority. This is the great essential, because there is no church without a priesthood, and this priesthood requires for its legitimate existence and operation a *legal institution*. Without such an institution it cannot have a valid continuation. But the church is also the pillar and ground of the truth; it is a witness to the truth over and beyond the truth as it is revealed in Holy Scripture, and so the truth itself becomes bound up with a hierarchy, and anything that attacks the authority of the hierarchy attacks the truth. Then the very essence of heresy and schism lies in the defiance of this authority rather than in any specific theological error. It is clearly implied in the present canon law that disobedience to the *magisterium* of the church is the foundation of all error.<sup>27</sup>

Everywhere these two words, authority and obedience, are the distinguishing marks of the clergy and laity. It is interesting to see just how far their application is carried. The authority of the clergy reaches everywhere and dominates not only the souls, the

morals and the consciences of men, but even their speech, their reading, their secular associations, their political activities and their very places of burial.

All this is so evident to those at all acquainted with the Roman system that it hardly requires the citation of authoritative documents; but just a few incidents may serve to make its extent more vivid. There are actions, for example, whose rightfulness or wrongfulness depends in no wise upon their intrinsic character but solely upon their conformity or nonconformity to some official decree. The very same action can even be right under certain conditions and wrong under other conditions that are determined, not by any inherent quality, but only by the decisions of hierarchial authority. For instance, in itself the use of leavened or unleavened bread is allowable in the Mass, according to the rite in which it is being celebrated, but authority has decreed that only unleavened bread is permissible in the Roman Rite and only leavened bread in the Oriental Rites. Accordingly it is a sin for a Roman priest to use leavened bread, and it is equally a sin for a priest of an Oriental Rite to use unleavened bread, not because either is sinful in itself or in itself would invalidate the Mass, but because "authority" has decreed that it shall be so. In other words, the "sinfulness" is determined by the "obedience" of the rite under which the priest is functioning and to which he is obligated. Even "in extremis" the recognition of authority counts for more than the desire for pardon. Pardon must be conditioned by the recognition of authority. That is apparent in the "conditional" administration of Extreme Unction. There, "when he or she stubbornly and manifestly lives in the state of grievous sin, especially in the case of Freemasons and persons enrolled in a cremation society" the form is "*si non contumax*."<sup>28</sup>

Of course if morals are thus determined, the authority must extend over conscience itself, and Gregory XVI, in the encyclical "*Mirari Vos*," of Aug. 15, 1832, referred to the claim that men should be granted liberty of conscience as a "madness."<sup>29</sup>

That freedom of speech is likewise definitely restricted is self-evident; that men's reading is to be limited and directed by the decisions of the proper authorities so that their mental world may

be clear of all rebellious suggestions is likewise evident, for the ancient index of prohibited books still exists, and new additions to it are frequently made. For the most devout the very intellect must think only according to the thoughts of the church. Here even thoughts are not "tax free" but are bound by the obedience to authority. A no less personage than St. Ignatius of Loyola in his *Spiritual Exercises* gives this among his "Rules for thinking with the Church":

XIII. The thirteenth: To arrive at the truth in all things, we ought always be ready to believe that what seems to us white is black, if the hierarchical Church so defines it; believing that between Christ our Lord the Bridegroom and the Church His Bride there is one and the same Spirit, Who governs and directs us for the salvation of our souls; because our holy Mother the Church is ruled and governed by the same Spirit and our Lord Who gave the Ten Commandments.

External associations that might in some way distract from this complete obedience are also forbidden, including specifically the Young Men's Christian Association.<sup>30</sup>

Even after death there cannot be an association of sepulchre, for among the provisions of the Sacred Office concerning the dealings with heretics, made in the 17th century, are some that forbid their burial in consecrated ground or in churches where the Mass is celebrated, and direct that if their bodies have been so buried they are to be disinterred, if this can be done without scandal. If such things cannot be prevented they are to be tolerated; but the right to do so is never to be conceded in writing.<sup>31</sup>

If ecclesiastical authority extends so far, it would be strange indeed if it did not also reach into the domain of secular politics. That such has been the fact is known, of course, even to the most superficial student of history. That it is definitely a part of the whole theory has also been clearly stated by more than one pope in many different declarations, extending down through the centuries to the assertion of Pius X in his first consistorial allocution of Nov. 9, 1903, where he avers that politics is inextricably bound up with the teaching office.<sup>32</sup>

The logical consequence of the various claims we have been

considering is the demand that the Roman church shall have the exclusive right of existence wherever this can be secured by concordats or other political means. The concordats of the past and present bear witness to that fact. True, those of the present are more moderate in what they have been able to secure from secular governments; they are content to get what secular authority they can, but those of just slightly earlier date tell clearly what will be demanded when circumstances make wishes attainable. We cite just three from the pontificate of Pius IX. First is the concordat with Spain that was signed on the 16th of March, 1851. There it is agreed that the "Catholic, apostolic Roman religion" is to be the only religion of the Spanish people, that all of its canonical rights are to be preserved, and that all instruction in universities, seminaries and public and private schools is to be in conformity with its teaching.<sup>33</sup>

The second is that with Austria, signed Aug. 18, 1855. Here the same rights are demanded and the whole question of public teaching is regulated at some length. Apparently unable to restrict the trial of the clergy, when accused of offenses against the laws of the state, to the bishops' courts, a claim of immunity from secular jurisdiction for the clergy that has always been maintained wherever possible, they are at least to be kept in separate sections of a prison from the common herd of criminals (there seems to be a sanctity even in crime), and, if convicted, are to be incarcerated in a monastery or other ecclesiastical fabric! If one of the clergy is accused of a criminal act, the bishop is to be notified and, in case he is sentenced, the bishop is to receive a copy of the judicial proceedings.<sup>34</sup>

The last is that with the republic of Ecuador, which was concluded on the 26th of Sept., 1862. This is almost like that with Spain only it requires that all cults and societies condemned by the church are to be expressly excluded, and also stipulates that the very textbooks of instruction used in the schools are to be under the censorship of the Bishops.<sup>35</sup>

So the various attempts were made to realize all the claims of temporal power and the right to use force that were set forth in the familiar statements of the Syllabus of Errors of this same pope in 1864.

The time had come when the papal authority was recognized as the focal and absolute authority of the Roman church. It was nothing more than a logical development of previous views that culminated in the final triumph of papalism in the nineteenth century. If there was a temporal authority residing in the clergy as a class, and if that class was divided into degrees of authority, it was practically a necessity that there should be a final unifying supreme authority in which all beneath was climaxed and united. An army of *pontifices* requires a *pontifex maximus*; an infallible church that speaks only through its clergy requires a single mouthpiece to express its decrees, and when that was finally accomplished in the Vatican Council of 1870 a natural reversal took place as the final stage of development was reached. The pope was no longer the mere head and final authority of the church and its spokesman, but he became the spokesman of God directly; and instead of resting on the church beneath, this church is suspended from the Holy Father. Pius the Ninth certainly expressed the new conception correctly in the remark attributed to him: "I am tradition." He was not merely its mouthpiece but its incarnation. But either way the intolerance of Rome is closely knit up with this final authority. So we must first of all understand the authority of the pope in the Roman Obedience before we see how that affects Roman intolerance towards all other Christians.

Every student of church history is familiar with the centuries of gradual papal aggression that elapsed before the final steps of the Vatican Council were possible, but he also knows that the germ of the idea was present for centuries preceding; that it began, indeed, with the inception of the teaching of a hierarchy with varying degrees of authority. Just to start part of the way back we may take, for example, the *Professio fidei Tridentina*, where it is required that the one taking the oath acknowledges the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman church as the mother and ruler of all churches, and where he swears obedience "to the Roman Pontiff as the successor of the blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles and the vicar of Jesus Christ."<sup>38</sup>

The bishops as generals in the army of which the pope is the commander-in-chief must not only swear allegiance to him but

must pledge themselves by oath to maintain all his rights, honors and privileges according to the best of their ability and to contend against all heretics, schismatics and other rebels who defy their lord the pope and his successors.<sup>37</sup>

It is a well known fact of history that within the Roman church itself there was determined opposition on the part of many bishops to the extravagant claims of the papacy, and that it was not until the political maneuvering of the Vatican Council that the opposition was finally squelched. But long before its decrees were finally passed the way was being prepared, particularly by Pio Nono. His decree promulgating the dogma of the immaculate conception of Mary was an actual assumption of infallibility before that claim had become an established dogma. He likewise asserted the claim, which was also nothing new, that the visible unity of the church depended on the pope and on his authority.<sup>38</sup>

The final outcome of the struggle is familiar to all. How the Vatican Council finally established the papal ambitions of the centuries as a dogma, so that henceforth the pope is not only the supreme and autocratic ruler of the church, but when he speaks *ex cathedra* he is likewise infallible and a veritable fountain of divine truth. Of the many decrees of that council this one will be sufficient to establish the present status of papal claims and papal authority: "If anyone shall say that the Roman Pontiff hath the office merely of inspection or direction and not full and supreme power of jurisdiction over the universal Church, not only in things which belong to faith and morals, but also in those which relate to the discipline and government of the Church spread through the world; or assert that he possesses merely the principal part (*potiores partes*), and not all the fulness of this supreme power; or that this power which he enjoys is not ordinary and immediate, both over each and all the Churches, and over each and all pastors and the faithful: let him be anathema."<sup>39</sup> So it is now a matter of defending the faith of the church to defend the authority of the pope and with it, of course, the authority of the whole ecclesiastical structure.

This settles the question as far as the Roman Obedience is concerned, but how does it apply to us? Apparently it relates only

to "the faithful" in the Roman sense, and we, by our profession of the true faith of the gospel, are in the eyes of Rome rebels and heretics. Does that not automatically exclude us from the application of these decrees? By no means, and this is the last point we must drive home in order to make clear the inner necessity of intolerance on the part of the Roman Communion in its relation to us. To do so we must first turn back many centuries to consider a famous document that very clearly establishes the stupendous arrogance of the claims concerning the extent of papal authority. We refer, of course, to the notorious Bull of Boniface VIII, "*Unam Sanctam*" of Nov. 8, 1302. Here there is no mincing of words nor concealment of pretensions. We are told that the universal church, outside of which there is no salvation, has one head on earth, the pope, that it possesses the power of the two swords, one indirectly and the other directly, that the temporal sword is exercised for the church and the spiritual sword by the church, that the spiritual authority is above the temporal, and that because of the necessity of salvation *all human beings are subject to the Roman Pontiff*.<sup>40</sup> This was followed in turn by the Epistle of Clement VI, "*Super quibusdam*," of Sept. 29, 1351, in which that pope in addressing the Areminans asserts his authority over them and over all Christians.<sup>41</sup>

An apologete may, however, object that this is all ages ago and that times have changed since then. Yes, but Rome never changes, and while these claims may not be so brazenly stated in this generation, they still remain the same. If we pass rapidly down the centuries, we find Pius VI, four hundred and forty years later, in a letter to Cardinal de La Rochefoucault, March 10, 1791, condemning liberty of thought and action and claiming authority and the right to use force over all who have been baptized.<sup>42</sup>

It is not necessary, however, to hark so far back into the past. Our own times have furnished us with more than one declaration that states unmistakably the claim that papal authority extends to all baptized Christians. One of the best known is the famous letter of Aug. 7, 1873, written by Pius IX to Emperor William of Germany in which the pope declares:

I speak with candor, for my standard is the truth, and I speak to fulfil

my duty which consists in proclaiming the truth to all, even to those who are not Catholics. For I say that everyone who has received Baptism belongs in some relation and after some manner, which it is not necessary to explain further in this connection, to the pope.<sup>43</sup>

Still more recently similar utterances have come from inspired sources. In an article that appeared in the *Osservatore Romano*, Dec. 18, 1917, there is this statement:

It is an article of faith: The fields of the original and first Christian faith, on which, in the course of the centuries, the enemy sowed tares and saw them flourish, are nevertheless subject to the laws of the Vicar of Christ. Only the unbelieving and the Jews are outside this law. All those who are baptized, whether they will it or not, are essentially and with particular obligation subject to the authority of the pope who, not simply in word but in fact, is the head of the whole Christian world.<sup>44</sup>

By implication the same thought is included in the note sent by Benedict XV to the belligerent nations on Aug. 1, 1917,<sup>45</sup> where he refers to himself in these terms: ". . . We resolved . . . as was fitting for him who is father of all" (the contending nations). ". . . as the common father of all believers." On the 17th of August, the "Richsbote" published this comment on the note in question which is interesting as it gives the interpretation and reaction of a contemporary layman:

In his peace letter the pope refers to himself as the "common father of all believers." In this description there is a presumption that we must reject most emphatically, a presumption which must make all non-Catholics suspicious of the papal offers of mediation and must awaken in them the suspicion that the pope seeks to gain ends of his own by his offer of mediation. Thus the very opposite of what the Vatican supposedly seeks in its peace proposals will be reached. When the pope calls himself the common father of believers there is implied either that he regards himself as the supreme authority over all non-Catholics or that he does not regard them as believers at all. The one is as presumptuous as the other.<sup>46</sup>

So we have come to the end of the road, and as we look back over it we can only come to the one conclusion, that intolerance, an intolerance that will even avail itself of physical force when

possible, is a necessary part of the Roman system, and that this intolerance is something that has grown, with inevitable logic, out of the fundamental errors of Rome concerning the church, the clergy, the hierarchy and the authority claimed for them in each case. It is a jurisdiction that, especially in the case of the pope, has become a matter of faith, and as such must be defended by all means, if this erroneous faith is to be maintained; and finally it is a jurisdiction that claims to involve all baptized Christians—including ourselves.

No matter how the Roman house may be swept and garnished, the ghost of the old *Imperium Romanum*, with its lust for temporal power, is the evil spirit that always returns to vex and torment the *Ecclesia Romana* with the more than seven evil spirits that accompany every fundamental departure from the true Catholic faith.

1 Encyclical, *Immortale Dei*, Nov. 1, 1885. Denzinger's *Enchiridion*, Ed. 14-15, 1922.

2 Mulert, *Konfessionskunde*, pp. 330-331.

3 *The Development of Christian Doctrine*, Ch. 6, sec. 2, p. 272.

4 Weimar Ed. 6, p. 455, 21.

5 W. 26, 145, 22.

6 Enders, *Briefwechsel* 7, p. 211. It appears in another form, in Latin in Weimar, *Briefwechsel* 4, pp. 498-499.

7 W. 10, 111, 18. See also the exposition of the 82nd Psalm, 1530, W. 31, I, 209 seq. Those who are interested in following the subject more in detail will find ample material indicated in Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, I, note, pp. 367-368; note, pp. 370-371 and p. 485.

8 These propositions are rather familiar but for the sake of completeness we give the text of a few that relate to the matter under consideration. The numbers preceding each proposition refer to their place in the Syllabus, those following to their place in Denzinger's *Enchiridion*.

"15. Liberum cuique homini est eam amplecti ac profiteri religionem, quam rationis lumine quis ductus veram putaverit." 1715.

"16. Homines in cuiusvis religionis cultu viam aeternae salutis reperire aeternamque salutem assequi possunt." 1716.

"17. Saltem bene sperandum est de aeterna illorum omnium salute, qui in vera Christi Ecclesia nequaquam versantur." 1717.

"18. Protestantismus non aliud est quam diversa verae eiusdem christianae religionis forma, in qua aequae ac in Ecclesia catholica Deo placere datum est." 1718.

"77. Aetate hac nostra non amplius expedit, religionem catholicam haberi tanquam unicum status religionem, ceteris quibuscunque cultibus exclusis." 1777.

"78. Hinc laudabiliter in quibusdam catholici nominis regionibus lege cautum est, ut hominibus illuc immigrantibus liceat publicum proprii cuiusque cultus exercitium habere." 1778.

"79. Enimvero falsum est, civilem cuiusque cultus libertatem itemque plenam potestatem omnibus attributam quaslibet opiniones cogitationesque palam publiceque manifes-

tandi conducere ad populorum mores animosque facilius corrumpendos ac indifferentissimi pestem propagandam." 1779.

"80. Romanus Pontifex potest ac debet cum progressu, cum liberalismo et cum recenti civitate sese reconciliare et componere." 1780.

9 *Epist.* I, 38, March 3, 1198: "Omnes qui Marcovaldo fidelitate sunt vel sacramento astricti, apostolica auctoritate a sacramento absolvimus, et ne ipsi fidelitatem observent, modis omnibus prohibemus, cum *fidelitatem, quam aliqui christiano principi iuraverunt, Deo eiusque sanctis adversanti et eorum praecepta calcanti nulla mandentur auctoritate servare*. Ideoque praesentium vobis auctoritate mandamus, quatenus omnes, qui ei iuramente vel fidei tenebantur religione astricti, denuntiatis et denuntiari faciatis per sedem apostolicam absolutus" (Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums etc.* 4th Ed. 1924, p. 173).

10 The exact wording of this apology for a shameful betrayal is as follows: "Praesens sancta synodus quovis salvo conductu per imperatores, reges et alios saeculi principes haereticis vel de haeresi diffamatis, putantes eosdem sic a suis erroribus revocare, quocunque vinculo se astrinxerint, *concesso, nullum fidei catholicae vel iurisdictionis ecclesiasticae praeiudicium generari* vel impedimentum praestari posse seu debere declarat, quominus, dicto salvo conductu non obstante, liceat iudici competenti et ecclesiastico de huiusmodi personarum erroribus inquirere et alias contra eos debite procedere eosdemque punire, quantum iustitia suadebit, si suos errores revocare pertinaciter recusaverint, etiamsi de salvo conductu confisi ad locum venerint iudicii, alias non venturi: nec sic promittentem, cum fecerit quod in ipso est, ex hoc in aliquo remansisse obligatum" (Mirbt, *Quellen*, pp. 228-229).

11 The form of profession and abjuration is as follows: "Ego N. comperto divisionis laqueo quo tenebar diutina mecum deliberatione pertractans, prona et spontanea voluntate *ad unitatem sedis apostolicae*, divina gratia duce, *reversus sum*: ne vero non pure mente seu simulata reversus existimer, spondeo sub ordinis mei casu, et anathematis obligatione, atque promitto tibi tali episcopo, et per te sancto Petro apostolorum principi, atque sanctissimo in Christo patri, et domino nostro, domino N. papae N. et successoribus suis, me nunquam quorumlibet suasionibus, vel quocunque alio modo, ad schisma, de quo redemptoris nostri gratia liberante ereptus sum, reversurum, sed semper in unitate ecclesiae catholicae, et *in communione Romani pontificis* per omnia permansurum: unde iurans dico per Deum omnipotentem, et sancta Dei evangelia, me in unitate et communione praemissis inconcusse mansurum. Etsi (quod absit) ab hac me unitate aliqua occasione vel argumento divisero, periurii reatum incurrans aeternae obligatus poenae inveniar, et cum auctore schismatis habeam in futuro saecula portionem." Pleasant prospect!) Mirbt, *Quellen*, p. 589.

12 In the Const. "*Licet iuxta doctrinam*," Oct. 23, 1327, John XXII condemns among other "errors" of Marsilius Patavinus and John de Ianduno that statement, "5. Quod tota Ecclesia simul iuncta nullum hominem punire potest punitione coactiva, nisi concedat hoc imperator" (Denzinger, 499). A similar proposition was among the "errors" of the Synod of Pistoria, condemned in the Constit. "*Auctorem fidei*," Aug. 28, 1794, by Pius VI. Of special interest to us are the statements of the Confutation in the "Articulus ultimus de potestate ecclesiastica." There we read: "In ecclesia dei potestas est ecclesiastica a Christo instituta, qua sacerdotes prelati non solum habeant potestatem super corpus Christi verum et mysticam potestatem docendi et excommunicandi et necessaria intercipiendi, sed universaliter potestem habent regiminis in suos subditos, ut ordinentur in vitam eternam" (Joh. Ficker, *Die Konfutation des Augsbургischen Bekenntnisses*, p. 124, 26.30).

"Ex quibus omnibus evidenter constat episcopos habere non solum potestatem ministerii verbi dei sed etiam potestatem regiminis, coercitive correctionis ad dirigendos subditos in finem beatitudinis eterne. Ad potestatem autem regiminis requiritur es potestas iudicandi

diffiniendi discernendi et statuendi ea, qua ad prefatum finem expediunt, ut compellant ingredi ad cenam iuxta parabolum evangelii tardos et pigros, Lu. 14" (*ibid.* p. 126, 4-10).

13. Decret. Gratian c. 47 C XXIII qu. 5. Original in Doellinger, *Declarations and Letters on the Vatican Decrees*, 1869-1887, Edinburgh, 1891, pp. 143-144. Cardinal Turcremata in his commentary on this decision of Gratian, Causa 23, qu. 5. c. 47 *Excommunicatorem*, has explained it thus: "If anyone shall out of true zeal have a man to death who has been excommunicated, *nullam meretur poenitentiam*." This is approved by Pope Gregory XIII through publication in his edition of the *Corpus juris can.* (Turin, 1620), where in explanation of the impurity (*flagitium*) there is added the explanation, "*Quod alias esset flagitium*" (which would otherwise be an impurity). Vide, Count von Hoensbroech, *Das Papstthum in seiner social-kulturellen Wirksamkeit*, Leipzig, 1905, I, p. 168. A great mass of materials relating to this general subject is to be found in these volumes of the well-known German writer who had been a Jesuit for fourteen years.

14 *Summa theol.* 2. 2 ae. qu. 11, a. 3.

15 *Ibid.*, a. 4.

16 The teaching of Bellarmine is so clear that we give it here in his own words: "Primo, *haeretici excommunicari iure possunt, ut omnes fatentur, ergo et occidi*. Probat consequentia, quia excommunicatio est maior poena quam mors temporalis. Secundo, experientia docet, non esse aliud remedium. (Other means having been tried and failed). . . . Tertio falsarii omnium iudicio merentur mortem, at heretici falsarii sunt verbi Dei, etc."

"Hae autem rationis omnes suadent haereticos occidendos. Nam primum *nocent proximis magis quam ullus pirata* vel latro, quandoquidem animas occidunt, immo tollunt fundamentum omnis boni et rempublicam tumultibus replent, qui necessario religionum diversitatem sequuntur. Diende *plurimis prodest eorum supplicium*. Multi enim quos impunitas faciebat torpentes, supplicia proposita excitant, ut cogitent, qualis sit haeresis, quam sequuntur, et videant, ne forte vitam praesentem misere finiant et ad futuram beatitudinem non perveniant. Denique *haereticis obstinatis beneficium est, quod de hac vita tollantur*. Nam quo duitus vivunt, eo plures errores excogitant, plures pervertunt et maiorem sibi damnationem acquirunt" (lib. III, *De laicis* c. 21; Mirbt, *Quellen*, p. 362).

17 Von Hoensbroech, *Das Papstthum*, etc., I, p. 662.

18 *Decretum s. Officii* 28, *Julii*. Found in Menghini, *Sacro Arsenale*, Roma 1693, p. 303. For further examples see von Hoensbroech, *Papstthum*, especially I, Anhang 1.

19. Tanner, S.J., *De fide, disp.* 1, qu. 8, *dub.* 6, 128: *Theolog. schol. tom* 3, Ingolstadt, 1627, pp. 474-475.

20 *Notae in epistolam Petri Molinaei ad Belzacum*, Antwerp, 1634, p. 230.

21 Grisar, S.J., *Zeitschrift für kath Theologie*, 1879, p. 552.

22 Mirbt, *Quellen*, p. 491.

23 Canon Law: Can. 731. § 2. "Vetitum est Sacramenta Ecclesiae ministrare haereticis aut schismaticis, etiam bona fide errantibus eaque petentibus, nisi prius, erroribus reiectis, Ecclesiae reconciliati fuerint."

24 The present Canon Law describes the rights of the laity as being primarily those of receiving what the clergy has to offer: "Ex divina institutione sunt in Ecclesia clerici a laicis distincti, licet non omnes clerici sint divinae institutionis; utrique autem possunt esse religiosi" (Can. 107). "Laici ius habent recipiendi a clero, ad normam ecclesiasticae disciplinae, spiritualia bona et potissimum adiumenta ad salutem necessaria" (Can. 682).

25 Because of the clearness of Bellarmine's definition and its historic significance we give it in full: *Lib. III, De ecclesia militante* c. 2: "Nostra sententia est, ecclesiam unam tantum esse non duas; et illam unam et veram esse *coetum hominum eiusdem christianae fidei professione et eorundem sacramentorum communione colligatum, sub regimine legitimorum pastorum ac praecipue unius Christi in terris vicarii, Romani pontificis*. Ex qua definitione facile colligi potest, qui homines ad ecclesiam pertineant, qui vero

ad eam non pertineant. Tres enim sunt partes huius definitionis. *Professio verae fidei, sacramentorum communio et subiectio ad legitimum pastorem, Romanum pontificem. . . .* Ratione tertiae excluduntur schismatici, qui habent fidem et sacramenta, *sed non subduntur legitimo pastori* et ideo foris profitentur fidem et sacramenta percipiunt. Includuntur autem omnes alii, etiamsi reprobi, scelesti et impii sint. . . .

*"Ecclesia enim est coetus hominum ita visibilis et palpabilis, ut est coetus populi Romani vel regnum Galliae aut respublica Venetorum."*

C. 14. "Nostra sententia est, *ecclesiam absolute non posse errare*, nec in rebus absolute necessariis nec in aliis, quae credenda vel facienda nobis proponit, sive habeantur expresse in scripturis sive non" (Robert Bellarmine, *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei*). Lengthy extracts from Bellarmine can be found in Mirbt, *Quellen*, pp. 355-363.

26 "Ex divina institutione sacra hierarchia ratione ordinis constat Episcopis, presbyteris et ministris: ratione iurisdictionis, pontificatu supremo et episcopatu subordinatio: ex Ecclesia autem institutione alii quoque gradus accessere" (Can. 108 § 3). "Tertio: firma pariter fide credo *Ecclesiam*, verbi revelati custodem et magistrum, per ipsum verum atque historicum Christum, cum apud nos degeret, proxime ac directo institutam eandemque super Petrum, apostolicae hierarchiae principem, eiusque in aevum successores aedificatam" (The Anti-Modernist oath of Pius X from the *Motu proprio*, "*Sacrorum antistitum*" of Sep. 1, 1910; Denzinger, *Ench.* 2145).

27 "Fide divina et catholica ea omnia credenda sunt quae verbo Dei scripto vel tradito continentur et ab Ecclesia sive sollemni iudicio sive ordinario et universalis magisterio tanquam divinitus revelata credenda proponuntur" (Can. 1323, § 1). "Post receptum baptismum si quis, nomen retinens christianum, pertinaciter aliquam ex veritatibus fide divina et catholica credendis denegat aut de ea dubitat, haereticus; si a fide christiana totaliter recedit, apostata; si denique subesse renuit Summo Pontifici aut cum membris Ecclesiae ei subiectis communicare recusat, schismaticus est" (Can. 1325, § 2).

28 N. Maas, *The Treasure of the Liturgy*, Bruce Pub. Co., Milwaukee, Wis., 1932.

29 Atque ex hoc putidissimo indifferentismi fonte absurda illa fluit ac erronea sententia seu potius *deliramentum, asserendam esse ac vindicandum cuiuslibet libertatem conscientiae*. Cui quidem pestilentissimo errori viam sternit plena illa atque immoderata libertas opinionum, quae in sacrae et civilis rei labem late grassatur, dictantibus per summam impudentiam nonnullis, aliquid ex ea commodi in religionem promanare" (Mirbt, *Quellen*, p. 439).

30 *Cong. S. Officii, Epistola ad locorum Ordinarios*, Nov. 5, 1920; Mirbt, *Quellen*, p. 527.

31 Mirbt, *Quellen*, 6. 364.

32 "Pro munere autem tuendae veritatis christianaeque legis Nostrum necessitate erit: notiones illustrare et asserere maximarum rerum, sive natura informatas sive divinitus traditas, quas nunc obscuratas passim atque oblitteratas videmus: disciplinae, potestatis, iustitiae aequitatisque, quae convelluntur hodie, principia firmare; universos singulos neque solum qui parent sed et qui imperant, utpote omnes eodem prognatos Patre, in privata publicaue vita, in genere etiam sociali et politico ad honestatis normam regulamque dirigere. Utique intelligimus nonnullis offensioni fore, quod dicimus, curare hos etiam politicam oportere. Verum quisque aequus rerum iudex videt, Pontificem a magisterio, quod gerit, fidei morumque nequaquam posse politicorum genus diiungere. Praeterea caput quum sit rectorque summus perfectae societatis, quae est ecclesia, ex hominibus coalescentis, inter homines constitutae profecto velle, debet cum principibus civitatum et gubernatoribus rei publicae mutua sibi officia intercedere, si catholicorum in omni ora ac parte terrarum velit et securitati et libertati esse consultum" (Mirbt, *Quellen*, p. 502).

33 "1. Religio catholica apostolica Romana, quae excluso quocunque alio cultu esse pergit sola religio Hispanicae nationis, conservabitur semper in tota ditione catholicae

maiestatis suae cum omnibus iuribus ac praerogativis, quibus potiri debet iuxta Dei legem et canonicas sanctiones. 2. Consequenter institutio in universitatibus, collegiis seminariis et scholis publicis ac privatis quibuscunque erit in omnibus conformis doctrinae eiusdem religionis catholicae: atque hunc in finem episcopi et caeteri praesules dioecesani, quorum munus est doctrinae fidei ac morum ac religiosae iuvenum educationi invigilare, in huius muneris exercitio etiam circa scholas publicas multatenus impediuntur" (Mirbt, *Quellen*, p. 446).

34 "1. Religio catholica apostolica Romana in toto Austriae imperio et singulis, quibus constituitur, ditionibus sarta tecta conservabitur semper *cum iis iuribus et praerogativis, quibus frui debet ex Dei ordinatione et canonicis sanctionibus.*" (Mirbt, *Quellen*, p. 447.)

"14. Clerici carceris poenam semper in locis a saecularibus separatis luent. Quodsi autem ex delicto vel transgressionem condemnati fuerint, in monasterio vel alia ecclesiastica domo recludentur." (Mirbt, *Quellen*, p. 448.)

35 "1. Religio catholica apostolica Romana esse perget religio reipublicae Aequatoris atque inibi sarta tecta perpetuo conservabitur cum omnibus iis iuribus et praerogativis quibus frui debet ex Dei ordinatione et canonicis sanctionibus. *Quocirca in Aequatoris reipublica nunquam permitti poterit alius cultus vel societas quae fuerit damnata ab ecclesia*" (Mirbt, *Quellen*, p. 449.)

36 From the Bull "*Iniunctum nobis*," Nov. 13, 1546. The reader will note the sections in parentheses. These were not in the original but were included by a decree of the S. C. Conc., Jan. 20, 1877. "Sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Romanam Ecclesiam omnium ecclesiarum matrem et magistram agnosco: *Romanoque Pontifico*, beati Petri Apostolorum principis successoris ac Jesu Christi vicario, veram obedientiam spondeo ac iuro.

"Cetera item omnia a sacris Canonibus et oecumenicis Conciliis, ac praecipue a sacrosancto Tridentina Synodo (et ab oecumenico Concilio Vaticano) tradita, definita ac declarata (praesertim de Romani Pontificis Primatu et infallibili magisterio), indubitanter recipio atque profiteor, simulque contraria omnia, atque haereses quascunque ab Ecclesia damnatas et reiectas et anathematizatas ego pariter damno, reicio et anathematizo. Hanc veram catholicam fidem (which now includes papal infallibility and the absolute primacy of the Bishop of Rome) extra quam nemo salvus esse potest . . . ego idem N. spondeo, voveo ac iuro: sic me Deus adiuvet, et haec sancta Dei Evangelia" (Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, 999, 1000).

37 Oath of the Bishops from the *Pontificale Romanum*: ". . . Iura, honores, privilegia et auctoritatem s. Romanae ecclesiae domini nostri papae et successorum praedictorum conservare, defendere, augere et promovere curabo. Neque ero in consilio vel facto seu tractatu, in quibus, contra ipsum dominum nostrum vel eandem Romanum ecclesiam aliqua sinistra vel praeiudicialia personarum, iuris, honoris, status et potestatis eorum machinentur. . . . Haereticos, schismaticos et rebelles eidem domino nostro vel successoribus praedictis pro posse persequar et impugnabo. . . ." The last sentence is omitted from the oath required of Prussian, Hanoverian, Irish and Russian bishops (Mirbt, *Quellen*, pp. 585-586).

38 Here is the statement found in the encyclical, *Ex S.O. ad episcopos Angliae*, Sep. 16, 1864. ". . . Ecclesia igitur catholica una est unitate conspicua perfectaue orbis terrae et omnium gentium, ea profecto unitate cuius principium radix et origo indefectibilis est beati Petri Apostolorum Principis, eiusque in Cathedra Romana successorum suprema auctoritas et potior principalitas. *Nec alia est Ecclesia catholica nisi quae super unum Petrum aedificata in unum conexum corpus atque compactum unitate fidei et caritatis assurgit*" (Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, 1686). The same pope, replying to the objection that ecclesiastical power is not *de jure divino*, asserted in the Encyclical "*Quanta Cura*," Dec. 8, 1864: "Quod quidem quantopere adversetur catholico dogmati plenae potestatis Romano

Pontifex ab ipso Christo Domino divinitus collatae universalem pascendi, regendi et gubernandi Ecclesiam, nemo est qui non clare aperteque videat et intelligat" (Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, 1698).

39 *Sess. IV*, ch. 3; Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, 1831. Here are some further statements from the Vatican Council: *Ses. IV*, July 18, 1870, ". . . Ut vero episcopatus ipse unus et indivisus esset, et per coherentes sibi invicem sacerdotes credentium multitudo universa in fidei et communionis unitate conservaretur, beatum *Petrum* ceteris Apostolis praeponens in ipso insituit perpetuum utriusque *unitatis principium ac visibile fundamentum*, super cuius fortitudinem aeternum exstrueretur templum . . ." (Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, 1821).

"Docemus itaque et declaramus, iuxta Evangelii testimonia primatum iurisdictionis in universam Dei Ecclesiam immediate et directe beato *Petro* Apostolo promissum atque collatum a Christo Domino fuisse" (*ibid.*, 1822).

"(CANON) Si quis igitur dixerit, beatum *Petrum* Apostolum non esse a Christo Domino constitutum Apostolorum omnium principem et *totius Ecclesiae militantis visibile caput*; vel eundem honoris tantum, non autem verae propriaeque *iurisdictionis primatum* ab eodem Domino nostro Jesu Christo directè et immediate accepisse: anathema sit" (*ibid.*, 1823).

40 Because of its great historic significance and the bald frankness of its statements we must include the following examples of its assertions: "Unam sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam et ipsam apostolicam urgente fide credere cogimur et tenere, nosque hanc firmiter credimus et simpliciter confitemur, *extra quam nec salus est, nec remissio peccatorum*. . . .

"Igitur Ecclesiae unius et unicae *unum corpus, unum caput*, non duo capita quasi monstrum, Christus videlicet et Christi vicarius *Petrus, Petrique* successor. . . .

"In hac eiusque potestate duos esse gladios, spirituales videlicet et temporalem, evangelicis dictis instruimur. . . . Uterque ergo est in potestate Ecclesiae, spiritualis scilicet gladius et materialis. Sed is quidem pro Ecclesia, ille vero ab Ecclesia exercendus. Ille sacerdotis, is manu regnum et militum, sed ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis. Oportet autem gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem auctoritatem spirituali subici potestati. . . .

"Ergo si deviat terrena potestas, iudicabitur a potestate spirituali; sed si deviat spiritualis minor, a suo superiore; si vero suprema, a solo Deo, *non ab homine poterit iudicari*. . . .

"Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanae creaturae declaramus, dicimus, definimus et pronuntiamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis" (Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, 468-469).

41 This is another clear witness to the same claim: ". . . Quaerimus: Primo, si creditis tu et Ecclesia Armenorum, quae tibi obedit, omnes illos, qui in baptismo eandem fidem Catholicam receperunt et postmodum a communione fidei eiusdem *Ecclesiae Romanae, quae una sola Catholica est*, recesserunt vel recedent in futurum, esse schismaticos et haereticos, si pertinaciter divisi a fide ipsius Romanae Ecclesiae perseverent.

"Secundo petimus, si creditis tu et Armeni tibi obedientes, quod nullus homo viatorum extra fidem ipsius Ecclesiae et obedientiam Pontificum Romanorum poterit finaliter salvus esse.

"In secundo vero capitulo . . . quaerimus:

"Primo, si credidisti, credis vel credere es paratus cum Ecclesia Armenorum, quae tibi obedit, quod beatus *Petrus plenissimam potestatem iurisdictionis acceperit super omnes fideles Christianos a Domino Jesu Christo*: et quod omnis potestas iurisdictionis, quam in cetris terris et provinciis et diversis partibus orbis specialiter et particulariter habuerunt Iudas Thaddaeus et ceteri Apostoli, subiecta fuerit plenissime auctoritati et potestati, quam super quoscumque in Christum credentes in omnibus partibus orbis beatus *Petrus* ab ipso Domino Jesu Christo accepit; et quod nullus Apostolus vel quicumque alius

super omnes Christianos nisi solus Petrus plenissimam potestatem accepit" (Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, Appendix, 3008-3010).

42 "*Quod aliquantum.*" "In quem sane finem, nunc alia ratione nomen illud libertatis expendamus, discrimenque inspiciamus, quod intercedit inter homines qui extra gremium ecclesiae semper fuerunt, quales sunt infidiles atque Iudaei, atque inter illos, *qui se ecclesiae ipsi per susceptum baptismi sacramentum subiecerunt*. Primi etenim constringi *ad catholicam obedientiam profitendam non debent contra vero lateri sunt cogendi*" (Mirbt, *Quellen*, p. 411).

43 Mirbt, *Quellen*, pp. 469-470.

44 Translation into German in *Papst, Kurie und Weltkrieg*, p. 69.

45 *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, Sep. 1, 1917; cf. also Encyclical "*Ad beatissimi Apostolorum Principis*," Nov., 1914; *Acta Aps. S.*, VI, 585.

46 Quoted in *Papst, Kurie und Weltkrieg*, p. 150.

## OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE, 1936

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ONE has the feeling today that slowly the center of Old Testament study is shifting from the Continent to the English speaking world. Mighty pillars have fallen in Germany and the whole world of scholarship is experiencing the recoil. What thoughts and works are conjured up in our minds by such names as Kittel, Gressmann, Gunkel, Budde and Loehr! There are still many great scholars in that land—Sellin, Hempel, Eissfeldt, Volz, Alt, and others—but their work is not known widely enough to command the respect and confidence of the general public. Out of the nine books to which attention is here directed, only one is in German. Perhaps this paucity of recent continental contributions is due to the fact that, as Prof. T. H. Robinson reminds us, scholars there are engaged in minute and painstaking investigations which added together and assessed by future generations will in the end prove to be of the utmost significance.

The best point to begin our survey is to review two treatises on Hebrew origins, one by J. Garrow Duncan,<sup>1</sup> the other by T. J. Meek.<sup>2</sup> In recent years there has been a marked departure from the Pan-Babylonian hypothesis of Winckler and others in favor of another which makes the Hebrew writers indebted to Egyptian culture. This is especially noticeable in the writings of men like Prof. A. S. Yahuda, whom Duncan follows closely. Duncan is a conservative and interested solely in demonstrating the accuracy of the Biblical narratives. But he is not one of those who distort archæological and historical data to substantiate their zeal for literalness. He knows the courses and is familiar with the necessary tools to handle them. The results of his study show that not only are the Biblical descriptions of various technicalities correct, but that many of the stories bear evidence of having been originally composed in other languages and then translated into Hebrew by the authors of the several literary strata.

Much light is thrown upon hitherto difficult words, which can now be confidently explained as translations from original sources in the course of transferring a particular story from the one language to the other. And while the primary purpose of this book is both illuminating and significant, a secondary objective of explaining obscure words, references and phrases appears to outdo it in importance. On the one hand we are brought face to face with a complex world order, one in which there were cross-currents of

1 *New Light on Hebrew Origins*. London: S. P. C. K., 1936, 282 pages. 5s.

2 *Hebrew Origins*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936. ix, 220 pages. \$2.00.

life and culture that affected every civilization from 4000 B. C. to the close of the Old Testament period. Every page of the sacred document of Israel, viewed in the light of Oriental thought and life, testifies to that fact. The culture of Israel was a part of that vast milieu. On the other hand there isn't a single story that hasn't been remolded by the peculiar genius of Hebrew thought and religion. While there has been much Babylonian influence, a preponderance of Egyptian ideology, and many a vestige of Canaanite practice, all has been recast from that new point of view. Every element thus taken over was made subservient to a predominant Hebrew philosophy.

Prof. Meek's work is more technical, but none the less fascinating. He deals primarily with origins, in the truest sense of the word. In a series of six chapters he covers all the ground from anthropology to monotheism. He has an instructive discussion of racial origins, and offers a reconstruction, on the basis of Biblical and archæological materials, of that complicated and beclouded period from Abraham through that of the conquest of Canaan. He explains the strange aloofness of Israel and Judah from one another, and points out that a Judean editing of the sources tends to obscure the primary character of the influence of north Israel on the nation and her religion.

It will be remembered that Olmstead connects the Joshua period with the Amarna age, the literary deposits of which reflect anarchy in just those districts where the work of that great leader is laid by the Biblical records. The author is an exponent of the same hypothesis. By accepting the late date for the Exodus, he is compelled to adopt the further position that this signal event affected the tribe of Levi only. In so doing he must explain the subsequent unity of the nation. He does so by asserting that basically north and south were never united. Unity was forced by the Judean tribes. But how then account for Moses and the doctrine of election so central in Old Testament theology? He would of course say that the great play upon Moses was due to southern editors, by whom many of the Joshua exploits were attributed to Moses, whom the former obeyed and later succeeded.

On the subject of Hebrew law the writer affirms, "There is no law strictly parallel to Hebrew law and none that is particularly close" (p. 57). Hittite and Assyrian codes, as well as that of Hammurabi, legislate for a more advanced social order and likenesses are not due to borrowing but to the "conservatism of both peoples" (p. 60). "Whatever borrowing there was came indirectly, either through common inheritance or through Canaanite influence, or much more likely through both ways" (p. 64). Foreign codes were political, the Hebrew religious, or better politico-economical versus religio-moral.

The religion of the Hebrews presents the same phenomena found among other peoples. It started with naturism and passed through a stage of animism. Consciousness of environment led to measures to control it. The

divine appellatives signify strength, power. There is also evidence of ancestor worship. Probably the teraphim were ancestral images. Apparently Yahweh was originally a nature god, later adopted by a tribe, be it the Kenites as Ghillany (1862) thought or some other clan of the desert. The name itself may be derived from *hāwāh*, Arabic, *hawā*, meaning to blow, which would seem to indicate that he was a storm god, as indeed many of the passages of the Old Testament prove. That means that Yahweh was the personification of the powers of nature. At any rate Meek thinks that Yahweh came from somewhere in south Arabia, and was taken over by the tribe of Judah with which the tribe of Levi became affiliated through Moses. Eventually the whole southern confederacy became united under the banner of Yahweh. Later still this amphictyony forced its religion upon the northern tribes.

The chief actors in the development of Yahwism were the priests and prophets. The origin of the priesthood is to be sought in the head of the family. Gradually a narrowing of the priestly function took place, those best qualified by virtue of ability and success in delivering oracles assuming the rôle. Out of such private schools or groups grew the state priesthood which either absorbed or suppressed others. The tribe of Levi, associated with the priesthood in the Old Testament, was originally a secular tribe, identified with the serpent cult. After the political ambitions of Levi and Simeon were frustrated, the latter was completely absorbed by Judah, the former saved by joining up with the dominant tribe and championing the Yahweh cult. It was the Levites who assisted David in the establishment of a national religion.

The prophets had a common origin with the priests, but represent a different pole of development. They were ecstasies. The function of prophecy arose as a revolt against priestly professionalism, and was reborn in protest against the commercialization of the prophetic guilds. It was a unique occurrence, originating in and stimulated by conditions within Israel and Judah. The prophet was the man of the hour. Monotheism is inseparably connected with the prophets. It was not acquired from Babylonia or Assyria, nor from Egypt as Prof. Albright thinks. "Hebrew monotheism grew up in its own way with the Hebrew prophets, in and out of its own environment, influenced no doubt by world thought, but largely independent of it" (p. 203).

Still another study on Hebrew origins invites attention. Sir Leonard Woolley<sup>3</sup> has given us a most attractive and interesting account of the age of Abraham, based on his excavations at Ur and elsewhere in the Mesopotamian valley. It was, until recently, the fashion of criticism to regard the Old Testament patriarchs as either mythological characters or personifications of tribal exploits. Now such vagaries have been discarded in favor of his-

<sup>3</sup> *Abraham: Recent Discoveries and Hebrew Origins*. London: Faber and Faber, 1936. 299 pages. 7/6.

toricity. Prof. Woolley's account shows that the Old Testament narratives of Abraham, mainly from the J document, are authoritative. Gadd states in his *The History and Monuments of Ur*, p. 180, that on the basis of external considerations, "the tradition of Abraham's birth at Ur may be fearlessly accepted; that his sojourn there may have been under the reign of Rim-Sin or Hammurabi, probably the former, and thus about 2000-1900 B. C., though this cannot be sustained by Genesis xiv, as usually supposed; and that his traditional journeyings from Ur to Haran do in fact broadly correspond with a general northward transfer of the Habiru or Hebrew peoples from southern Babylonia, where they are first mentioned in secular literature."

Archæology now comes in to support this view. The author holds that Old Testament and secular evidence justifies the existence of Abraham, that he was of Amorite stock and became the founder of a clan which issued in the Hebrew nation and that he lived in the twentieth century B. C. Details of his life are nowhere to be found, but indirect evidence lends fair insight into the local color of the age in which he lived. Anachronisms are to be found in the Biblical story, such as "Ur of the Chaldees," a term applied to the region around Ur only after the eleventh century B. C. (this is disputed by Duncan, *op. cit.* p. 51), but in the main it is true to fact. It bears the stamp of Mesopotamian ideology, and survived only because it was deeply imbedded in "old familiar traditions."

The purpose of Woolley's book is to clothe the skeleton of the Abraham narrative with the flesh and blood of life as it appeared in the early age of the patriarch. To this intent there is an exquisite description of the social conditions at Ur, particularized in an account of the site and the appearance of the city with its great ziggurat dedicated to Nannar, the Moon god, and his consort Nin-gal, its business houses, private homes, schools and chapels of minor deities. The whole city was typically oriental with its structural monotony and squalor. The inhabitants could not depend upon agriculture alone; everywhere are marks of extensive trade. Extraordinary humanity was shown slaves and advanced liberality accorded women. The apparently exalted code of business ethics points to a high degree of governmental integrity. With the submergence of Sumerian hegemony by the Babylonians under Hammurabi, great changes were bound to come. It was probably under pressure from within the city of Ur, due to a strong feeling on the part of the Sumerians against the northern Semites, that Terah and his family withdrew to a more propitious social climate.

Turning to the Genesis narrative of Abraham we find some evidence of the influence of Sumerian-Babylonian civilization. The author discusses in detail the reasons for the choice of Hagar, and a wife for Isaac, and Abraham's revolt against child-sacrifice as being affected by inherited customs of the earlier environment. He believes that Jacob's dream at Bethel is reminiscent of the old ziggurat at Ur, and that the alarm of Laban and his sons

at the loss of the household gods stolen by Rachel is to be explained by the Sumerian inheritance laws. The legends of the early chapters of Genesis were brought along by the patriarchs and thus became embodied in Hebrew tradition. The Book of the Covenant bears evidence of compilation, as does the code of Hammurabi, from which much of its social legislation was derived. Josh. 2:24 asserts that the fathers were once idolaters. The following verses of the same chapter also make it clear that Abraham was the founder of a new religion, which means that he must not have had that religion from the start. He was a convert, and many factors contributed to his conversion. There is a vivid rehearsal of the changes of Sumerian religion from the great urban and national cults to that of the family, just prior to the third dynasty of Ur. Prof. Woolley thinks that Abraham's god was one of the household deities of Terah, taken from Ur to Haran and there by special revelation to Abraham became the family god (ch. 6). The last chapter deals with the genealogies of the P-code and the meaning of the names Abram and Abraham.

In line with new discoveries and trends of thought, Prof. S. A. Cook has set for himself the task of applying these to a reinterpretation of the Old Testament.<sup>4</sup> The result has been a book full of the most provocative suggestions and whetting the appetite of everyone interested in religious history. He approaches his subject from the standpoint of world history. His method is unique, and is the outcome of his peculiar conception of the world historical significance of the religion of the Old Testament. He begins with the new attitude toward the Bible manifest in the Reformation, the problems of the translators, their methods and handicaps, and the difficulties necessitating some sort of interpretation of obscure passages. From this there is but a step to the Hebrew text and the codices, the work of the Massorettes and the influence of movements represented in apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature. It is significant that modern students of both the Old and New Testament attach great weight to these extra-canonical sources. The author, for example, emphasizes the relevance of such works as Jubilees, the Psalms of Solomon and I Esdras for a critical study of the development of Jewish thought from Ezra-Nehemiah to New Testament times. A comparison of quotations in these books from canonical sources with the passages preserved in the Massoretic text often reveals striking divergencies. The same is true of the Septuagint. What all this evinces is the method of Jewish interpretation of tradition and the marvelous elasticity of the tradition itself.

Textual criticism leads directly to historical criticism issuing in source analysis and the study of comparative historico-religious movements and ideas reflected in the documents. They clearly show growth in harmony with

4 *The Old Testament: A Reinterpretation*. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1936. xiii, 264 pages. 7/6.

expanding purposes and ideals. The geographical factor was a potent influence as is shown in the chapter on "Land and People." Prof. Cook warns against too speedy conclusions on archæological grounds alone. Excavations have not as yet been on a wide enough scale and over a sufficiently wide territory. Not much has been done in Syria, eastern Palestine and the Negeb. It is a curious fact, for example, that archæological materials point to an early date for the invasion of Canaan by the Israelites, whereas the Biblical story looks to a time when the Canaanites were already using iron, admittedly introduced by the Philistines ca. 1200 B. C. (For the use of iron of meteoric origin at an earlier date see Woolley, *Ur Excavations*, Vol. II, pp. 49, 293.). It is to be noted that although Israel derived many of its forms from the surrounding cultural milieu, it completely altered many of them, and infused all of them with its exalted conception of Yahwism (see p. 114). The uniqueness of Israel's religion consists in the tremendous step forward taken by the nation, in the conception of Yahweh and the nature of his relation to the people and, in the prophets, to the rest of the world. He was thought to be both immanent and transcendent. Later ages stressed the latter at the expense of the former, so important for the prophets. It is the author's conviction that true Yahwism "stands between the *later* developments in Daniel and the apocryphal and other literature which form the prelude to the rise of Christianity, and the *earlier* cruder and more 'mythological' beliefs and practices which have either disappeared or have been sublimated" (p. 165).

On the origin of prophecy he differs somewhat from Prof. Meek. Discussing this phenomenon he writes, "The prophet, *in the widest sense of the term*, is no isolated phenomenon; the distinctiveness of Israel lies in the fact that prophecy is directed toward the religious, social and national history of Israel and the relations between her and her god Yahweh" (p. 173). The chief element in the prophetic message was the claim of Yahweh's righteousness and the consequent demand that his people be righteous. At first the nation invited stern denunciation on the part of the prophets and rejection by Yahweh, but later through repentance Yahweh showed his righteousness in mercy. Here is an alteration of the whole conception of righteousness, necessitated by historical situations and the enablement of the claim of Yahweh's consistency of purpose.

The expansive view of the prophets from localization and narrowness to a more individualistic conception is epitomized by the dictum: "not *Israel's* Yahweh, but *Yahweh's* Israel" (p. 184). More and more it was impressed upon them that Yahweh was just what he had always been—the Creator of all the world, the Lord of History—and that it was his purpose to create "a new heaven and a new earth." They arrived at this conception by a clear recognition of the fact that this world was not what it ought to have been. They saw a moral force at work, *i. e.*, that Yahweh was stepping in to bridge

the gap. The post-exilic prophets accepted this idea, but superseded the doctrine of the Remnant with that of the Messiah and the Torah. The Messianic conception was taken over by Christianity, in reality "the new Israel." The Torah became the guiding standard of Judaism. The New Testament is a chapter in the religious development of Israel, which experienced the influx of new power and direction through the prophetic reformation and the Christian application of its tenets in Jesus Christ. The final chapter of the Bible has not yet been written. It will tell the story of a future age inspired by the past and influenced by the present toward ever new vistas of life and experience. Such is the line along which moves Prof. Cook's reinterpretation of the Old Testament.

The late Prof. Max Loehr<sup>5</sup> sought to portray the various stages of religion represented by the Old Testament itself. He pursued his objective by classifying the available materials under six heads, under each of which he deals with the sources, the particular feature or features of the period, and how that stage is anchored in the past and what it contributes to the next or succeeding stages. The pre-Mosaic religion consisted of Dynamism and Polydaemonism, running into patriarchal deities (El of Mamre; Bethel; the strength of Jacob; the fear of Isaac). The religion of Moses was Yahwism. Yahweh was "older than Moses." The god of Moses was the mountain deity of Sinai, with a shrine at Kadesh before the time of the leader of the Exodus.

The author attributes certain ethical qualities to the early worship of Yahweh, whose adherents experienced a kind of servant-lord relationship, which made them in duty bound to observe his commands. The god Yahweh, already served by the Leah tribes, became the conjoiner of the nomads of Israel through the mediation of Moses, whose personal experience became the touchstone for that of the nation. It was a call to duty, the duty of Yahweh's medium to his chosen people, in his determination to free them from bondage and conclude with them a covenant for their welfare.

There is an account of the two forms of Yahweh worship which persisted side by side in Canaan for so many centuries. This matter deserves more attention than it has yet received. Not all will agree with Loehr when he says that "the genuine Yahweh tradition is to be sought in the South and not in the North" (p. 46), though this judgment coincides with that of Meek. The great struggle between Yahweh and Baalism took place on northern soil and the historical narratives from Joshua to Kings deal for the most part with that section. Here prophecy as a powerful factor in Israel's religion took its rise under Elijah, Elisha, Amos and Hosea. They cleared the way for monotheism and universalism. The prophetic genius lay not in its ethical demands, but in its conception of the religious society of Israel.

<sup>5</sup> *A History of Religion in the Old Testament*. London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1936. 192 pages. 5s.

The prophets preached moral living as the will of God and based on communion with him. Such an insistence prepared the way for the exilic development of religion less dependent upon external rites, tending more and more to become a religion of the Torah. As one by one the hopes of the nation and the individual Israelite were blasted, a new orientation of religion became imperative. Judgment was accordingly transferred from this life to the future. And in Job we see the faint beginnings of a doctrine of immortality, followed by more advanced positions in Pss. 49 and 73. The latter represents the highest peak in this direction which Old Testament writers were able to climb.

Here it becomes necessary to inject a brief report on the recent hypothesis of Adam C. Welch. He is known chiefly for his revolutionary studies of Deuteronomy reviewed in previous articles. His new book<sup>6</sup> takes up the problem of the cleavage between the prophets and the priesthood, or more accurately, the cultus in Israel. Welch is not interested in the institutions as such, but rather in the different conceptions involved. Why should the prophets oppose cultic usages? The answer is to be found in the whole genius of Israel's religion. The work of Moses was grafted on an already existent religious cultus, so that what we see in the Mosaic code is in reality a palimpsest. With the change from nomadism to agriculturalism came syncretism and a perversion of the Mosaic principles. It was the prophets who constantly reminded the people of their perversity and distortion of the old religion. In several matters they succeeded in purifying the cultus which persisted because of age-old traditions.

Was the movement toward ethical monotheism as championed by the prophets in harmony with the true genius of Israel's religion? This is really the question Adolf Wendel tries to answer in a penetrating study of the problem of secularization in Israel's culture.<sup>7</sup> Secularism is not a new thing. Karl Heim somewhere says that secularism "in its present form was born in the shadow of the Bible, in that sphere of influence manifest in the Biblical view of the relationship between God, man and the world." It is easy to discover the fact, but to survey the actual process is another matter altogether. The moment religion is applied to life it partakes of the secular. As far as Israel is concerned the process is as old as Moses who filled the offices of prophet, priest and judge. Although in Israel's economy, religion and state were early separate spheres of operation, there was a growing tendency to bring religion to bear on personal and national life, especially in justification of certain practices not too harmonious with fundamental Yahwistic conceptions. The many phases of Israel's life where secular tendencies manifested

6 *Prophet and Priest in Old Israel*. London: S. C. M., 1936.

7 *Säkularisierung in Israels Kultur*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1934. xiii, 407 pages. RM. 14,

themselves are probed by Prof. Wendel. His thesis must be reckoned with by future theologians.

The foregoing studies all deal with historical or institutional problems connected with one phase or another of the Old Testament. Because of this fact we welcome two books of another type. Both present some aspect of the so-called Wisdom literature of Israel. One is by O. S. Rankin<sup>8</sup> and contains the Kerr lectures for 1933-1936. Scholars have learned by the author's previous work, *The Origins of the Festival of Hanukkah*, to respect his judgment and to have confidence in his careful research. He treats the Wisdom literature not merely from the side of its origin and value, but as to its influence on the formation of the fundamental doctrines of Judaism and the consequent effect upon Christianity. Dr. Rankin demonstrates how immense is the debt owed by these later phases of Israel's religion to the Wisdom teachers. Wisdom was a universal phenomenon in the ancient world.

Israel's teachers borrowed many of the forms found in their writings, but nearly always invested them with new meaning coincident with their high views of religion and morality. They are in direct line of descent from the prophets and distinct from the apocalyptists. It was they who kept the fires of religion burning, in their quiet and unobtrusive way, after prophecy died out. Their doctrines were based on the Creatorship of God and his providence. The fact of suffering forced upon them the problem of evil. The book of Job wrestles with it, and shows as yet a subordination of the dualism of Persian thought to a strict monotheism.

The final decision of the issue had further consequences. Here is where the doctrine of free will comes in, by virtue of the fact that Satan was conceived as a rebellious servant of God. Otherwise God would be responsible for evil. That could not be so; God could not be responsible for sin. That led to the Sirach paradox of the evil impulse, *yetser*, as over against the moral law. Without any perception of inconsistency he also urges a doctrine of election, a sort of predestination extending to the whole of creation. Out of such reasoning came the idea of a divine providence.

The nature of rewards and retribution in the Old Testament and Judaism is described. Naturally there is a lengthy treatment of the problem of the future life. The author believes that immortality is implicit but not explicit in Job and Psalms. To interpret the classical passages in these books otherwise, would be forcing upon them later deductions and a violation of the context. The concept of immortality represents a comparatively late development in Israelite thought. In the writer's own words: "the idea of immortality is the complement of the idea of communion with God. Among the

<sup>8</sup> *Israel's Wisdom Literature: Its Bearing on Theology and the History of Religion*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1936, xvi, 271 pages. 10s.

Hebrews we perceive a fact that is remarkable and of signal importance in the history of religion, namely, that for many centuries this complementary relationship of those ideas did not exist and yet the latter idea represented a reality of the sublimest kind" (p. 162).

The other volume mentioned above is by Prof. D. B. Macdonald.<sup>9</sup> It forms a sequel to his earlier work entitled *The Hebrew Literary Genius*. In the present work he may be charged by some with being too enthusiastic "Hebraically." As the sub-title indicates—"A Vindication"—he offers an answer to those who say the Hebrews had no philosophy. He shows that they did have a philosophy, and a very profound one at that. Basically their philosophy rests on the conception of the Eternal or Absolute as a Personality. And when Philo of Alexandria attempted to harmonize the Old Testament with Greek philosophy, turning Jehovah into *pure being*, he had to strip him, by allegorical interpretation, of all the personal characteristics attributed to him by the writers of the Old Testament.

Beside this basic conception are four philosophical positions classified as (1) the existence of conscience and consciousness, (2) all things are in flux and becoming, (3) Life is an essential reality, (4) evil is stupidity (Ch. II). These positions are elucidated by virtue of the author's keen understanding and appreciation of the problems confronting Hebrew thinkers. They were reached by the application of the intellectual process to the facts of life: they were not dicta of Jehovah. We must guard against looking for Hebrew philosophy in the Wisdom literature only. The early chapters of Genesis, Jonah and Psalms evince profound thought. This was recognized by the author of the Hermetic Poimandres. Macdonald's preference for "Reason" rather than "Wisdom" for many of the renderings of *hochma* is suggestive. He thinks the word means "mental ability or technical skill of hand and brain" (p. 31) and that translators have been misled by the Greek *sophia*. It is well known that *hochma* is personified in Proverbs and Job 28. This feature is vividly described, as is also the reason for its suppression in Ecclesiastes and the revival in Ecclesiasticus. Incidentally there is a fine literal translation of the former book. The influence of Greek thought upon the Hebrews is reflected not in the canonical books, but in the Wisdom of Solomon, upon which Chapter VI is a splendid commentary.

The writer shows how the doctrine of Eternal Reason influenced the logos conception of the Fourth Gospel, and the part it played in the development of Trinitarianism. A final chapter treats Plato's Laws, Ecclesiastes and Ben Sira.

<sup>9</sup> *The Hebrew Philosophical Genius*. Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1936. 155 pages. \$2.50.

## BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

*Israel's Wisdom Literature: Its Bearing on Theology and the History of Religion.* By O. S. Rankin. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1936. 270 pages. \$4.50.

This volume, embracing the Kerr Lectures delivered in Trinity College, Glasgow, 1933-36, sets forth an appreciation of the Wisdom Literature of Judaism, which hitherto has not generally received adequate evaluation because of the character of the literature itself and the fact that much of it lies outside of the Old Testament. The author feels that in this literary heritage "can be traced more clearly than in any other line of study the development of theological and religious conceptions which Judaism bequeathed to the Gospels and to later Christian thought." Accordingly, he proceeds to trace this development under such topics as Hebrew Humanism; the Ideas of Individual Responsibility and of Reward and Retribution; the Belief in a Future Life; Ethical Monotheism, and the Figure of Wisdom.

As the first Book of Kings suggests, it was in the Solomonic period of Hebrew history that wisdom-writing originated in Israel. Egypt apparently supplied in her literature both model and incentive. Yet "the Hebrew writers were no servile borrowers" (p. 8). By contact with other peoples they assimilated only what was wholesome for the nurture of the element of humanism in their own faith and life. It was not the writings of the Prophets, but the wisdom-writings that developed the ethical idea of creation, enforcing "their moral instruction by reference to God as the Creator not only of heaven and earth but particularly as the Creator of man" (p. 10).

These documents also supplied, largely through the international character of their traditions and sources, the universal outlook which Judaism, in spite of its particularism, exhibited. In wrestling with the problem of sin they contributed to Christian thought, as later expressed in the writings of Paul and of Augustine, the conception that God was in no way its author, as was held by many Old Testament writers particularly at an early period, but that it had its origin in the freedom of the will. With a keen interest in humanity, the writers of the wisdom-books set forth the highest views concerning Providence to be noted in the writings of Israel. The teaching of Jesus on this subject, in fact, "represents the development and fruition of the humanism of the wisdom-writers, the center of whose religious thought was the interest of God in the individual" (p. 44). Although it has generally been held that Jeremiah and Ezekiel first emphasized the individual's responsibility to God, yet it was the wisdom-writings, according to Doctor Rankin, that made the original contribution in this direction. This was due to the fact that they were normally designed for the instruction of the individual, while the prophecies dealt primarily with the interests of the people as a whole. The tendency, therefore, to assign all of the Wisdom literature treating of this theme to a late date in order to account for the development of individualism through the influence of Jeremiah and Ezekiel needs to be corrected.

Further alterations are required in the conception of reward and retribution, the origin of which is sought, not in the prophetic teaching concerning social justice, but in the struggle of wisdom-writers, some of whom were pessimistic in their outlook, to reconcile the idea of divine justice and the facts of national and personal life. The belief in a future life, to which the wisdom-writers contributed, came late in Old Testament thought, having been retarded by "the tenacious endurance of the conception of the nature of Jahve as a sky- or heaven-god" (p. 177). As in the literature and cult practices of

the Babylonians, Persians and Greeks, Wisdom came to be personified in Judaism to the point of identification with the divine.

The fresh approach which the volume makes to the influences at work in Judaism in the crystallization of her religious concepts challenges students of Scripture to a reconsideration of the relation of the wisdom-writings of Israel, not only to the prophetic literature, but also to the life and literary products of contemporary peoples.

E. E. FLACK

*The Book of Amos: Hebrew Text with Critical and Grammatical Notes.* By Theodore H. Robinson. London: S. P. C. K., 1923. 61 pages. \$0.90. ("Texts for Students," No. 30; New York: The Macmillan Company.)

*The Book of Ruth: Hebrew Text,* etc. By A. R. S. Kennedy, 1928. 79 pages. \$0.90. ("Texts for Students," No. 42.)

*The Psalms, Book III: Hebrew Text,* etc. By W. O. E. Oesterley, 1933. 104 pages. \$1.50. ("Texts for Students," No. 47.)

At last they have begun to appear! The greatest single obstacle to the study of Hebrew in this country heretofore has been the lack of selected texts, edited with introductions, notes, and vocabularies in the manner of school and college editions of other foreign language classics. In these cheap and convenient English textbooks ought to be found a powerful stimulus and a gratefully acknowledged aid to Hebrew studies in our seminaries. No longer need the Juniors plunge from their beginners' grammars into the reading of the Massoretic Bible, with no other help than the lexicons. Now they may progress naturally from the reading exercises of the Grammar to such simple and suitable connected prose as Ruth, with notes to explain all difficulties and direct them further to the standard grammars, and with a vocabulary at the back (front) of the book. No more wild digging in dictionaries and agonized hunting through conjugation tables to locate a forgotten form! No longer need Middlers and Seniors who have hitherto read nothing more difficult than the Old Testament prose narratives suddenly jump into the poetry of Prophets and Psalmists. Here, in editions of Amos and Psalms LXXXIII to LXXXIX, are helpful guides to the structure and idiom of these advanced portions of the Bible in the form of critical, grammatical, and exegetical notes by skillful teachers, and again, in each book, abbreviated lexicons to the authors concerned, within the same covers as the texts to which they belong.

Busy pastors, too, who hanker after a forgotten knowledge of Hebrew, may take up these textbooks, even without reference to their grammars, and make such profitable progress, at least through these short books, that the tackling of major prophets or longer books like Genesis or Kings will no longer seem so utterly impracticable. Ambitious young scholars who remember Krauth's daily "best hours" with Hebrew and Greek Testaments may not have to neglect the Old Testament after all!

CHARLES M. COOPER

*Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten: Hosea bis Micha,* by Theodore H. Robinson; *Nahum bis Maleachi,* by Friedrich Horst. ("Handbuch zum Alten Testament," erste Reihe, vierzehnte Abteilung.) Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1936. 160 pages. RM 6.60.

This is the second volume to appear in the new series of Tübingen Old Testament commentaries edited by Professor Otto Eissfeld. The first volume was Hans Schmidt's book on the Psalms, reviewed in *The Lutheran Church Quarterly*, Jan. 1936, by Pastor Myers. The present volume is almost entirely the work of Professor Robinson, translated by the editor from English into German, quite the reverse of the usual process!

The basis of these Tübingen commentaries, we may remind our readers, is a fresh translation of the Scriptures, intended by exactness of rendition to indicate at once the commentator's interpretation, to those, that is, who study the original Hebrew text. Thus Professor Robinson's version is given a German dress that is sprightly and new, but literal rather than literary. His English may accordingly be assumed to have been "translation English." This, of course, is practically helpful to the Hebrew student, but misleading to others.

Critical and grammatical notes, both in justification of the commentator's renderings, and in discussion of textual problems, are set in small type immediately below the boldly printed translations on the left-hand pages. And on the right-hand pages are excellently arranged historical, literary, and religious comments, section by section, with chapter and verses noted under appropriately descriptive headings. Each book has also its own introduction and a selected, technically important bibliography. This arrangement is the chief glory of the Tübingen volumes. Who that has kept one finger on the page with the translation and critical apparatus of the Sellin commentary, while perusing the fulsome paragraphs of subsequent discussion on later pages, will not rejoice in this improvement? The same advantage holds good over the Göttingen commentaries with their two or three lines of text at the top, heavily weighted by solid sections of notes in small type below, minus paragraphing or any clear references to chapter and verse. Handiness for reference use is immediately evident in this newest German undertaking in Old Testament exegesis.

But it remains a German work, technical and advanced. All the materials of the introductions to the several prophets, save the bibliographies, may more readily come into English readers' hands in the Oesterley and Robinson *Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament*. And plenty of other helps are available for the needs of the average student which will serve him better than this most recent and most learned Handbuch. If he does not have them, the Clarendon and Cambridge Bibles and the Westminster and International Critical commentaries will be of much more consequence to his Old Testament studies. Only the most advanced students will profit by keeping abreast of the forthcoming numbers of the Tübingen series.

CHARLES M. COOPER

*The Gospel Parables in the Light of Their Jewish Background.* By W. O. E. Oesterley. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1936. viii, 245 pages. \$2.50.

Most readers of the parables of Jesus believe that they know at once what they mean. It is when we come to put our impressions into words that we begin to appreciate the work that has been put on their interpretation by scholars. The parables are not transparently simple. They grew out of life remote from our occidental life, but a type of life with which Jesus' peasant hearers were familiar. They have a Jewish background. They were spoken in an Aramaic dialect. The author calls attention to this point particularly. "The Gospels which enshrine the parables exist only in Greek or Aramaic. . . . The parables were first handed down orally in this language, and various forms of the Gospels which contain them were put forth in Greek (cf. the preface to the third Gospel); these latter form the basis of the Gospels as we now have them; so that our present Gospels constitute the third stage in the transmission."

The contribution which Dr. Oesterley has made to the literature on the parables falls in these lines. His wide acquaintance with rabbinic literature and his studies in the Aramaic field fitted him for his task. To the best of our knowledge his book is unique.

Dr. Oesterley begins with a study of "the kingdom of heaven." According to Jewish usage "heaven" was frequently a synonym for "God." "With heaven it is all one, to

save by many or by few" (1 Mac. iii. 18). When "heaven" refers to the local sky it is always written with the article in Aramaic; without the article it refers to deity. A prayer for the coming of that kingdom in the Jewish liturgy (known as *Alelu*) is one in which Jesus as a devout youth joined daily. It was the popular expectation that the Messiah, when he came, would inaugurate this kingdom. Jesus' purpose in his parables was to diabolize that expectation in his disciples of its political features: hence the cryptic comment "that seeing ye might not see and hearing ye might not understand." The parables are the acme of Jesus' art as a teacher.

Dr. Oesterley's book is replete with illustrative material; e. g., on the mustard seed, "In the Talmud (*Berakoth* 31a) a microscopic drop of blood is said to have been no bigger than a mustard seed. In L. Rabba on xxiv 2 a saying of Isaac b. Zera is quoted in which the sinking sun is said to disappear as 'a spot of blood as small as a mustard seed.'" It was the Jewish proverbial "smallest thing." Similarly "Abraham's bosom" is to be understood in connection with a passage from "The Testament of Abraham" and frequent rabbinic references.

It is difficult to condense any part of a book itself condensed to baldness of statement. Probably enough has been said to show its value.

H. C. ALLEMAN

*Studies in the New Testament: Collected Papers of Clayton R. Bowen.* Edited by Robert J. Hutcheon. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936. 182 pages. \$2.00.

Nine essays, selected from the more important papers of the late Professor Clayton R. Bowen, are here published in book form. They are: I. The Task of New Testament Interpretation; II. Prolegomena to a New Study of John the Baptist; III. John the Baptist in the New Testament; IV. Why Eschatology? V. The Meaning of *sunalizomenos* in Acts 1:4; VI. The Place of "Ephesians" among the Letters of Paul; VII. Notes on the Fourth Gospel; VIII. The Fourth Gospel as Dramatic Material; IX. Love in the Fourth Gospel. There is a foreword by Professor E. J. Goodspeed.

While all of these papers have been published before, they appear in various scientific and theological journals that are not so readily available to the general reader. It is therefore a great convenience to have these stimulating studies by one of the leading New Testament scholars in America gathered into a single volume.

R. T. STAMM

*The Holiness of Jesus.* By Arthur Davis Martin. Nashville: The Cokesbury Press, undated but published in the U. S. September, 1936. 244 pages. \$2.50.

In careful scholarly terms this book answers criticisms of Jesus, particularly those from Unitarian and Jewish sources, and in so doing presents a picture of Jesus of freshness and new vigor surprising even to most devoted and learned Christians. Dr. Martin admits at the end of his treatise that "its prevailing note may seem too little judicial," and declares that "it was begun with a sincere purpose to make and to record impartial researches," but that before long he felt it artificial to pretend indifference to the outcome of the investigation. However, aside from this bias, admission of which destroys most of its danger, the book displays an admirable scholarship and an impartial presentation of facts, including those most strongly against his thesis. Too often defenders of Jesus reveal in their very defense lamentable ignorance of essential sources or essential language tools, but this author meets the most scholarly of the detractors of Jesus on their own ground, and in answering them creates a portrait of Christ which can claim a permanent place in Christian interpretation.

The old problem of Jesus' second coming within the lifetime of his associates is reopened, and profitably so, under consideration of Jesus' judgment, with the suggestion that the actual meaning of Christ's words (though misinterpreted by the disciples) was entirely fulfilled in the coming to life of his teachings, Kingdom, and spirit in the almost miraculous growth of the church during the life of his disciples. Arguments against Jesus' sinlessness are considered carefully, and are answered in kind (as Jesus' criticism of the Pharisees, by the Talmud's own quietly scornful summation of their hypocrisies—p. 75) before being overwhelmed by a dramatic summation of Christ's claims in the oft-stated dilemma: "The claim is absolute. What shall we say of him who makes it? *What manner of man is this?* Madman or God?" (p. 206).

These answers to criticism in their turn support his positive thesis, that Jesus is holy as God is holy, using the term with the meaning of Otto's *numen*. His most powerful support of this thesis is furnished by one of his initial premises, supported by much scholarly evidence, that the holiness of God culminates in his identification as life-source and life-force—this proposition combined with his dramatic portrayal of Jesus' gradual realization that to finish his mission he must die, in seeming direct opposition to the God of Life he came to present.

Some will feel that Dr. Martin admits too much; others that he attempts too much. He points out the latter danger, "That is often the way with real discoverers in Biblical scholarship," (p. 117), as well as other difficulties, such as: "All religious terms are, of course, only clumsy symbols for the truths we touch. . ." (p. 224). He most wittily characterizes modernist critics of Jesus as "engaged in a series of critical excisions like the peeling of an onion," or claiming by their attitudes that "Divine omniscience . . . seems to have been reserved for the modernist scholar," though sometimes one might also accuse him on the same terms. These and a more serious fault, a seeming almost total absence of social implication or message in Jesus' life (and Niebuhr seems to show that mystical and social approaches can be combined), can be forgiven him, however, in the power and beauty of the picture of the vigorous Christ he presents.

HERMAN KEITER

*The Gospel Selections of the Ancient Church: An Exegetical-Homiletical Treatment.*

By R. C. H. Lenski. A Series of Gospel Texts for the Entire Church Year. Columbus, Ohio: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1936. 1003 pages. \$4.50 net.

Dr. Lenski was a prolific author. Almost twenty volumes are the abiding products of his mind and pen. In subject and content they are for the most part exegetical and homiletical, and for their production their author was well prepared not only by natural gifts and the gifts of the Spirit but also by his studies and experience as preacher and professor. Among them are *Eisenach Gospel Selections*; *Eisenach Epistle Selections*; *The Sermon, Its Homiletical Construction*; *The Interpretation of Matthew's Gospel*; *The Interpretation of St. Mark's and St. Luke's Gospel*, and *The Interpretation of John's Gospel*. The book under review is among his latest works (apparently his last work) and it may be said to crown his literary labors. It appeared during the week in which the author passed from earth to his heavenly rest. In this book the reader is frequently referred to the previous publications, especially to "The Sermon" and "The Interpretation" of the several Gospels.

This latest work is exegetical-homiletical in character and content. As exegetical the book supplies the material usually found in a commentary. There is given the exposition of the Greek text of the New Testament, sometimes sentence by sentence, oft-times word by word. The Greek words are printed in Greek type. Nor is Greek the only language employed, other than English. There not seldom appear also Hebrew, Latin and German words. On page 707, in seven consecutive lines, are three Greek

words, six Latin words and two German words. To benefit fully by the book the reader should have knowledge of, or at least acquaintance with, these languages.

The translation of the selected Gospels is the author's own. On page 28 he gives the strange direction: "The preacher will use the Authorized Version in the pulpit, and will compare the Revised Version in his study." But the author's translation provides a *third* text for the preacher, which rather complicates the matter. Yet the supplied translation is very good. It brings out the force and the shades of meaning of the Greek words and resembles the books entitled "The New Testament in Modern Speech"—such books as bear the names of Moffatt, Weymouth, and Goodspeed.

As was said, the exegesis of the Greek text is detailed, and it is for the greatest part correct. Seldom has this reviewer dissented from the exposition afforded, but occasionally interpretation is given or inference is drawn to which he cannot agree—as when it is affirmed that Mary's "firstborn" was her *only* son (p. 124), that Mark 16:14-20 came "from Mark's pen" (p. 522), and that the Ten Tribes were completely "lost" (p. 725). However, such dissent forms the exception to the reviewer's rule of assent to the given exegesis, which is admirable in its interpretation of the Greek text, and whose eternal truth, moreover, it applies to the men and nations of these modern days.

As homiletical the book supplies, after the exposition of each Gospel for the particular Day, under the heading "Homiletical Aid," several complete outlines of sermons and several shorter outlines of a few sentences each. The majority of these sermonic outlines are the author's own contribution to the book; the others are from other sources—not a few of them are German in origin. All of them are suggestive and will be found helpful.

Perhaps what is now said should have been said at the first. The title of the book is *The Gospel Selections of the Ancient Church*, that is, the historic Pericope or sections of the Gospels used on the Festivals and Sundays of the Church Year. Of the origins of these Seasons with their Festivals and Sundays Dr. Lenski gives an excellent explanation at the proper place. More than once he shows how the Church Year arose and developed, and he lucidly explains how and why the several Gospels for the Day (Festival or Sunday) are so many links in a continuing chain which extends from the First Sunday in Advent to the Last Sunday after Trinity—from God's preparation of salvation for man on earth to its consummation in heaven above. He also makes plain that only once is there a seeming "break" in this pericopic chain: it is when the Festival Half of the Church Year (from Advent to Trinity Sunday) gives way to the Non-Festival Half of the Church Year (the Twenty-seven Sundays after Trinity). In the first Division, he truly says, occur the Gospels of the first rank, those which set forth directly the Lord Jesus Christ—his Coming, Manifestation, Sufferings and Death, Resurrection, Ascension, and the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit—and these "supreme historical events demand *appropriation* in preaching and hearing." But in the second Division occur the histories of the second rank, and in these the preacher "must use homiletical *application*."

A comparison of the Gospels here used with the Gospels assigned in the Common Service Book (under General Rubrics) to the Festivals and Sundays of the Church Year will show that in this book the same Gospels, with few exceptions, are cited and commented upon. The exceptions are Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, and Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday in Holy Week. But these omissions are accounted for by the author, and they are compensated for by the inclusion of two additional chapters: The Reformation Festival (Mt. 11:12-15) and The Mission Festival (Mt. 9:36-38).

The book is a large octavo volume printed in large clear type and bound in durable cloth.

JOHN W. HORINE

*The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.* By R. C. H. Lenski. Columbus, Ohio: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1936. 934 pages. \$4.00 net.

In the Epistle to the Romans Paul records his personal message of revealed truth and pours out the feelings of his ardent heart. It is so intensively and extensively Pauline in content and scope that it has been given precedence over all his epistles in the New Testament canon. It has been variously called "the profoundest book in existence," "the cathedral of the Christian faith," "the greatest and richest of all apostolic works." Luther termed it "the chief book of the New Testament and the purest Gospel" (in it Paul himself speaks of "my Gospel," namely, the Good News of justification by faith in Christ, not by works of law). It is of this foremost book of the apostle that Dr. Lenski has given "the Interpretation."

In an Introduction the author describes the origin and destination of the letter and the particular truth which is at the heart of its message. This is Paul's central doctrine of justification by faith alone. Repeatedly this keynote is sounded by the author—it recurs like the theme in a symphony. The doctrine is repeatedly stressed, sometimes in dogmatic language, sometimes in language that is popular and plain. But other doctrines are not overlooked or slighted. Very fine is the author's statement of the doctrine of "Sanctification." He also clearly and correctly interprets some difficult passages, such as 8:28-30 and 9:9-18, in which he deals with the subject of "Predestination." Frequently he contrasts the right interpretation with the wrong interpretation of Calvinism and Catholicism.

Nor does the author fail to make repeated application of the Pauline teaching to these modern times, for it is at once the primitive and the present truth. For example, on pp. 882 f., he applies to ministers of today the words of Paul in 15:16. His comment is: "Here is the place to pause and to examine the offering we pastors are bringing to God. What are these members like that we are offering to God? Woe to him who thinks and says: 'God, these are a good enough offering for thee!' Lowering the confessional standards, gathering great numbers at the price of truth, leaving unholy bonds unsevered, yielding contrary to God's plain injunctions, will bring about a frightful reckoning for many a public servant, who failed to keep the holiness of his Gospel work before his eyes, whose offering to God is a herd of sheep tainted and unclean in God's eyes."

Here it may be said that the English translation of Paul's Greek text is that of the author, and his use of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German words is frequent, one or more of them being found on almost every page. The Interpretation is, indeed, a minute study of the Greek text—the prepositions, conjunctions, tenses of the verbs, even the Greek particles receiving attention and even extended treatment. It is this verbal exposition which helps to make it so large a book. Paul's numerous quotations of Old Testament passages are interpreted in detail. But analysis is followed by synthesis. The exposition unfolds and unifies the teaching of the Epistle, explains and applies it. It is a thoroughgoing and reliable interpretation of the Epistle to the Romans from the opening Salutation (1:1-7) to the Doxology at the close (16:25-27).

A Table of Contents and an Index would have largely increased the usefulness of the book. These the reader must make for himself. After the Introduction and Salutation the main divisions are:

The Righteousness of God from Faith to Faith (1:18-4:25).

The Righteousness of God has the Most Blessed Effects (5:1-18:39).

The Righteousness of God, being Obtained by Faith Alone, Explains what Occurs with Israel and with the Gentiles (9:1-11:36).

The Righteousness of God Produces a Life of Righteousness (12:1-15:13).

Conclusion: Personal Matters (15:14-33); Greetings, etc. (16:1-27).

The book closes with the short paragraph: "Paul ends with Glory to God. So ought Romans to end: Glory to God through Christ Jesus for ever. Amen." SOLI DEO GLORIA.

JOHN W. HORINE

*Theologisches Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament.* Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Volume III, part 5, pages 257-320; parts 6 and 7, pages 321-448; part 8, pages 449-512. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1936. Subscription price each part RM 2.90.

Students will often ask the question: Which is the best commentary on the entire New Testament? The question is more easily asked than answered, unless it is specifically stated what kind of commentary is wanted; for there are commentaries of all kinds and of every possible description. But if there is one book that deserves a place in the library of every theological seminary, of every New Testament student and of every minister of the gospel, it is Kittel's *Theologisches Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, of which two large volumes have already appeared and which, when completed, will easily be the greatest work that New Testament scholarship of our times has produced. Originally planned to take the place of *Cremer's Biblico-Theological Lexicon*, it is far more comprehensive; for, although theological in its character, it lays before the reader the entire linguistic and historical material which is necessary for the understanding and the further study of the New Testament. Many of its articles are monographs which if they had appeared in book form would have secured for their authors at once a place among the best New Testament writers and scholars. Considering the large number of contributors, it is really amazing to find that the highest standard of scholarship, which aims at nothing but the truth, has been maintained throughout the work as far as it has appeared.

In the parts which are before us special attention may be called to a few of the outstanding articles. In part 5, I was attracted by Gottlob Schrenk's discussion of the group of words which deal with the Old Testament priesthood and the significance of the highpriestly office of Christ, particularly in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The article is of interest to the student of comparative religion as well as to the Biblical scholar and the systematic theologian. The same is true, only to a larger degree, of the article on the words which express the idea of atonement, both in the Old and the New Testament. Johannes Herrmann and Friedrich Buechsel are the authors, the former for the Old Testament and the latter for the New Testament part of the subject. Of unique interest to every historian and theologian is the article in which three writers (von Rad, Gutbrod, Kuhn), discuss the meaning and significance of the various names by which the people of Israel are designated in the New Testament. There are altogether thirty-one articles in these four parts, covering the words from *hiereus* to *kaleo*. Among the contributors are such well known names as Behm, Bultmann, Karl Ludwig Schmidt, Oepke, Rengstorf, Stauffer, Staehlin, Carl Schneider, Joachim Jeremias, Hauck, Delling, Michel, Grundmann, R. Meyer, Stumpff, Schlier, Foerster.

H. OFFERMANN

*Einleitung in das Neue Testament.* By Paul Feine. Eighth, completely new and revised edition, by Johannes Behm. Leipzig: Quelle and Meyer, 1936. 326 pages.

Doctor Behm, the Berlin scholar, has brought up to date Feine's standard Introduction to the New Testament. Owing to the flood of new material which has appeared from the press in recent years by reason of the vigorous investigations which scholars have been making in the field of New Testament research, the reviser felt under obli-

gation to rewrite much of the work. In doing so, he has made use of the leading contributions not only of German scholarship, but also of English and of American. He lists in the introduction to the volume the most important guides for the study of the New Testament, critical editions, dictionaries, concordances, lexica, grammars, works on hermeneutics and general commentaries; and at the close of the work he names the leading commentaries on the separate books of the New Testament. Of interest is his treatment of the history and the literature of New Testament Introduction. In the case of each major problem of Introduction he sets forth the history of attempts at solution. In Part I he treats of the origin of the separate New Testament writings, and in Part II, of the origin of the New Testament Canon and of the history and present status of the Text.

Pastors, students and teachers will find this scholarly work a very helpful guide in the study of the problems of New Testament Introduction.

E. E. FLACK

*The Story of the Bible.* By Edgar J. Goodspeed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936. O.T. 187 pages; N.T. 150 pages. \$1.50.

In this one volume Professor Goodspeed has combined his two small books, *The Story of the Old Testament* and *The Story of the New Testament*. This work is neither technical nor critical although expressing the liberal and critical view of Biblical literature gradually becoming acceptable even in conservative circles. It reflects the results of modern investigation in archaeology, anthropology and ancient religions.

In the section on the Old Testament the author begins with the Book of Amos, preferring to follow the order of literary origin rather than that of subject matter. There is an emphasis on the prophets rather than on the priests because the former were both earlier and more influential in fashioning Hebrew thought. Attention is called to their remarkable anticipation of modern ideas of social reform.

In dealing with the literature of the New Testament the author, consistent with his purpose of following the order of literary origin, begins with the letters to the Thessalonians. The situations out of which the books were evolved are vividly described. Attention is given to the development of thought in the early church showing how prevailing eschatological ideas gave way to those of permanence.

The author's position on the composition of the Bible may be inferred from a few details selected at random:—The Prophecy of Isaiah was the work not of Isaiah alone, nor of two or three writers but a kind of "anthology or treasury of Hebrew prophecy." Jonah is a three-page story, one of the world's masterpieces. First Peter was written not by the Apostle but by a mere elder. James is not a letter but a sermon. The Fourth Gospel was written in the second century and not by the Beloved Disciple.

However, without endorsing all its positions with regard to the development of Hebrew literature, the reviewer can heartily recommend this volume as stimulating reading and profitable for study. It is admirably adapted for group study by leadership training classes. The reviewer has so used it with quite satisfactory results.

W. C. WALTEMYER

*Knowing the Bible.* By Raymond C. Knox. New York: The Macmillan Company; revised edition, 1936. 281 pages. \$2.50.

We read the Bible for power, not to get expert knowledge. In order to get from the Bible its power we need a better understanding of its origin and development. To arrive at this understanding requires not only veneration but open-mindedness. Historical studies are constantly throwing new light on Biblical backgrounds.

Chaplain Knox of Columbia University is one who is constantly seeking to keep abreast of the steadily growing body of knowledge resulting from Biblical research in many fields. With this in mind he has revised his work, which originally appeared in 1927. The author is known as having a profound appreciation of the sacredness of Biblical literature. He has had unusual success in religious work among students.

In this work the writer seeks not to impart knowledge *about* the Bible but to acquaint his readers with the Sacred Book itself. Pastors and other students of the Bible will find it helpful. In some colleges it might well serve as a textbook in an elementary course in Biblical Introduction.

W. C. WALTEMYER

*Zeitrechnung.* By Hans Lietzmann (Sammlung Göschen). Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter and Company, 1934. 121 pages.

A most useful little manual that gives a condensed account of the various forms of calendars and the various eras, ancient and modern, heathen, Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan (even down to that of Fascism in Italy), with the methods for translating the dates from one to the other. Sixty-two pages of tables give at a glance the corresponding dates under different systems. There is also a statement of the various ways of reckoning the days within the months; tables by which the dates of the Christian festivals can be determined within any secular year; a list of the Roman Saints' Days, the Mohammedan calendar, the Roman and Hellenic calendars (nine different ancient Greek calendars are included); the calendar of the French Revolution; a method and table for reckoning the phases of the moon in any year, and a brief statement of the various dates that have marked the beginning of the year. The more elaborate literature on the whole subject is also indicated.

JOHN C. MATTES

*Highways of Christian Doctrine.* By S. J. Case. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company, 1936. 191 pages. \$2.00.

With a bold sweep of the pen the author attempts to touch the highways of Christian doctrine from Paul's mysticism to our modern theological uncertainties. This is all done within the brief space of 191 printed pages. Like much of our travel on modern highways, the beauty of scenery, and the mere joy of travelling, must be sacrificed to speed and distance.

The first stretch of this highway is a steep climb from the valley of spontaneous religious feeling to the first elevation of philosophical speculation within the circle of Christian thinkers. Unlike the highways of today those ancient highways of religious thinking were strewn with many a dangerous boulder. Yet the leaders of Christian thinking courageously arrived at the summit. And the author makes the following assumption: "By the middle of the third century ancient Christian doctrine had reached the highest eminence that it was to attain in the philosophical highway."

From now on the highway is not always so high. Roman Imperialism with its external, superimposed authority made its influence felt on the development and acceptance of theological doctrines. Many a doctrinal detour resulted, often leaving the main theological highway untravelled. Historical events such as political disintegration, barbarian immigration, etc., pushed the church out into the front in the procession of institutions.

Man had lost his way. The church, the divinely instituted organ, now had a chance to direct the history of men and nations upon new paths. The church became the stream

from which all life must catch its stride. It was only natural that the leading minds of the church, like Augustine, should put a crowning touch on this supernatural "imperium." Such thinkers were at least brilliant beacons throwing light upon the otherwise rocky road the church was travelling.

The author next proceeds to show that though the movement became supreme little was accomplished to blast new paths. It was safer to tramp old trails. Sacramentalism was the peculiar theological fruitage of this period. It "grew out of a yearning for a religion of objective reality meditated through sensible channels" (p. 91). The author strikingly points to the fact that in the Middle Ages, as today, the difficulties and insecurities of the material world drove men to seek refuge in the fortification of a spiritual "detour" rather than to go on to new and more difficult paths in an intellectual quest.

Yet even then, quite some time before the Reformation crowned the discoveries of the Renaissance, men were blazing new pathways of intellectual freedom. In spite of conflicting forces that emerged with the Reformation, a new doctrine of liberty was born. Reason tended to push ahead to where revelation was discarded.

As the modern network of roads has multiplied ad infinitum, so this new spirit brought forth endless crossroads in theological thinking. Perplexing though this new age may seem, the author finds many encouraging aspects in this fresh intellectual outpouring. The new highway is beset with many dangerous passes and crossings. Extreme Rationalism, Emotionalism and Pietism are some of the dangerous curves along the road.

Though the "queen of science" i. e. theology may have been forced from her throne of absolute supremacy, the author feels sure that "theological thinking, ever changing garb, will steadily move ahead in the highways of thought."

Reaction to any book is of necessity predicated by one's intellectual and spiritual background. Many a reader of this volume might readily conclude that the Christian church, in the matter of thought, has rarely been on the highway. It would seem as though the church was stopping along the road most of the time watching the traffic move ahead. Then when the answer to the eternal question "where do we go from here" dawned upon the sluggish theological minds they would get on the band-wagon and ride along. Having been a student of the author, we know that he does not aim at such an impression. However, it would have been well had he given a little less space and emphasis to the detours and pointed out, in his masterful way, that, in spite of all intellectual lethargy, Christian thinking has pioneered in the building of intellectual and theological highways.

The tremendous scope covered in so brief a volume does not allow the detailed discussion one would wish for. Yet the book fills a need and gives us a comprehensive view of one phase of Christian intellectual development. It bristles with gems of true "Caseisms" that those who know the author will appreciate thoroughly. Just two examples: speaking of the everpresent urge for pioneering in fields of theological thinking he says, "But most of us think so well of ourselves that we cannot be content with a God-imagery that is not modeled after the pattern of human personality" (p. 178); and this: "The liberals are accused of mere wishful thinking, for which, apparently, they are asked to substitute wishful believing" (p. 184). "Think of these" says the author to those of us who may look at the problem solely from the "other side of the fence."

JAMES J. RAUN

*A History of the Early Christian Church.* By William Scott, A.B., A.M., S.T.M., Th.D., Professor of Religion, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1936. 375 pages. \$2.50.

Jesus was of Jewish birth and lineage. He increased in wisdom and stature and in favor with God and man and accomplished his ministry in a Jewish environment. To

understand him it is needful to understand also this environment. But Judaism itself had had a long history. It was a development of many centuries under diverse circumstances and the historic outcome was a product of the peculiar forces inherent in the life and experiences of the Jewish people and their reactions to the changing external conditions they encountered in the long unfoldings of their history. Consequently this narrative of the early church which begins with the ministry of Jesus and ends with the calling of the Council of Nicaea, is preceded by three chapters dealing with the Jewish background, the reasons for the emergence of the parties or groups into which the people were divided, their characteristic beliefs and practices, and the nature and origin of views that were current in the first century. Without a knowledge of these the interpretation of many of Jesus' sayings and incidents of his ministry is obscure.

The author turns to the Synoptic Gospels as source material for a brief outline of the ministry. Jesus is viewed as becoming aware of his sonship at his baptism and the outcome of the temptations as a decision to fulfill his mission worthily. His message was the good news of the Kingdom of God, sharply differentiated from the notion of it prevalent among the people and disassociated from the nationalistic aspirations and dreams. The conviction that he was the Messiah through whom the Kingdom was to be set up developed gradually and came into clear consciousness at the close of the Galilean period. He went to Jerusalem intending openly to proclaim his messiahship, fully aware of the possibility of death at the hands of his foes, but having in mind as an alternative the recognition of his claim, but in either event satisfied to leave his case entirely in the hands of God. The principal reason for the opposition he encountered and the fate that overtook him was his claim to speak with independent authority, to ignore, modify or set aside the dicta of the scribes and their traditional interpretations, and to reinterpret the Scriptures and the nature of the Kingdom of God which was at hand. The inner essential conflict between his teachings and those of the Jewish leaders left no room for compromise. The crisis of the antagonism was reached in his open assumption of the Messianic office at Jerusalem. The cross was the violent rejection of the claim.

The crucifixion was a staggering blow to the faith of the disciples and in their disillusionment they fled into Galilee to resume their former manner of life. But shortly their sorrow was turned into joy and their despair into a conquering faith by a series of visions of their Lord as alive after his crucifixion. Death had had no dominion over him. He had passed through and beyond it to be an ever-living Savior. In this new mood of certainty and now looking upon the cross as but a prelude to the victory of his cause, they went back to Jerusalem to await his return, no longer under human limitations as they had known him in the flesh, but in the grandeur of the apocalyptic conquering Messiah. Instead their period of waiting was rewarded by the experiences of Pentecost and a sense of supernatural power coming upon them, transforming their lives and giving them a consciousness of vital relationship to their living Lord through whom they had received the Holy Spirit. They still looked for his visible return but in the meanwhile were equipped to carry forward the task for which they had been commissioned.

For the interpretations that combine to present the view here given of the ministry and teaching, the life and death of Jesus, the author states his reasons. He is acquainted with the problems involved. He is familiar with the literature of his subject. His tone is reverent. But the presentation leaves one with the sense of a missing somewhat. There is too great a disproportion between cause and effect. Granted the problems connected with an exegesis of the resurrection narratives, the vision theory raises intellectual difficulties quite as formidable as those involved in a literal rising from the dead. No doubt people peculiarly susceptible to occult psychic influences have acted on the premises of visions they believed were vouchsafed to them, but most persons are shy of committing

themselves to critical decisions and decisive action with no better warrant than these afford. The causes of such alleged psychic experiences are presumably so various and so frequently explicable by physical or mental disturbances that instead of finding in them a sufficient motive and spur to enter on some momentous course of conduct that will perhaps alter the tenor of their whole lives, men generally find their initiative paralyzed by a contemplation of the possibility that they may be the victims of illusions and delusions, their native hue of resolution thus becoming sicklied o'er by the pale cast of thought. It is hard to believe that the disciples' exalted and exulting faith that Jesus was alive after his death, following so closely on their evident conviction that the cross had disastrously ended his career, had no more emphatic confirmation than a series of visions; or that in view of the inevitably obtruding suspicions of self-deception in following the lure of strange psychic phenomena, such visions could have preserved their freshness and evidential force under the wear and tear of their abundant labors in the face of a gainsaying and opposing world.

Doubtless too, Pharisaism can be so expounded as to appear in a rather attractive light, as in the third chapter, if the expositions and insights of its most spiritual exponents be the whole story. But if it did not present another and different front in the teachings and practices of its average representatives, it is not easy to understand Jesus' repeated "Woe unto you, scribes, Pharisees, hypocrites," or why his attitude be toward the contemporary religion should have been the principal reason for the Pharisaic opposition to him.

Continuing the narrative of events after Pentecost the author tells of the rapid diffusion of the gospel, the struggle between the Jewish converts who viewed Christianity as simply the completion of Judaism carrying with it all the obligations of the Torah and the Hellenistic-Jewish and Gentile converts who held that the gospel was a new revelation superseding the old and with other requirements. The separation of these groups was completed under the ministry of St. Paul. Through his labors the church became preponderantly Gentile and with the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus the influence of the Judaizers ceased. A preparation for the steady multiplication of Christian congregations was afforded by the peculiar circumstances of the era—a world-empire, a common culture (Hellenistic), a general loss of faith in the old religions, chaotic moral conditions for which Christianity with its strong moral appeal offered a solvent, the ineffectiveness of current philosophies as answer to the profounder problems of life. Into a world distraught and floundering in its struggles for certain footing on which to go forward, Christianity came as an invigorating, hope-inspiring, renewing force. These conditions opened the way for Paul to found churches in Europe as well as in Asia, and the author presents an admirable summary of his activities together with an estimate of his work and character.

Included in the survey of these early centuries are accounts of the successive persecutions and their effects on the church; of the formation of the New Testament canon and its impelling reasons; of the development of doctrine and the formulation of creeds to meet the exigencies created by the rise of heresies; of the growth of organization from a primitive simplicity to a diocesan episcopate with note of the influence of Cyprian and of the gradual rise to supremacy of the Roman See; of the rivalry the gospel encountered in the Imperial Cult, Mithraism, Neoplatonism, Manichaeism and Gnosticism; of the reactions to these and other external influences in the formulations of doctrines; of the advent of the Christian apologists and thinkers like Clement of Alexandria and Origen who sought to interpret Christianity in terms of the intellectual life of the period; of the increase of the church in members, wealth, prestige and power until it became the one compact force in the dissolving Empire, courted by Constantine in his fight for the purple, and on his success taken into permanent alliance with the imperial crown, Christianity thus becoming the religion of the Empire.

Here too the book is written with adequate learning in the clear lucid style possible only when the subject matter has been thoroughly digested. The treatment is objective. No effort is made in handling sources and materials to bolster up foregone conclusions or support some controverted position. Allowance is made for the action and reaction between the developing history of the church and the external conditions under which the development took place, like the mutual responses between a living organism and its environment. But emphasis is all along placed on the creative quality of Jesus' work, and the considered conclusion, as stated in the preface, is not that "Christianity became a vast syncretism and that in the interplay of the forces which produced it the historic Jesus was but one of many factors. While it is true that the early exponents of the Christian faith adopted current modes of thought as the medium of their message, nevertheless they selected only what served to express a unique faith originating in the life and teachings of Jesus."

M. H. VALENTINE

*The Church Through Half a Century.* Edited by H. P. Van Dusen and S. McC. Cavert. New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936. 426 pages. \$3.00.

A series of essays in honor of William Adams Brown. Doctor Brown retired this year from the faculty of Union Theological Seminary after almost half a century of significant service there. Eighteen of his former students express their esteem and affection for their teacher by contributing a chapter each to this volume, thus stimulating in America a practice that has long been current in Europe.

The wide range of these essays is a vivid revelation of Doctor Brown's breadth of scholarship, catholicity of interest, and versatility in Christian service. The subjects covered are: Development in Religious Thought; Science and Theology; The Social Interpretation of Theology; The Institutional Church; Church and Society; Interpretation of the Bible; Preaching and Worship; Religious and Theological Education; Christian Unity at Home and Abroad. In the interpretive biography of Doctor Brown, Doctor Cavert calls him "Servant of the Church of Christ" and characterizes him as warm and devout in his personal religious life, a liberal in his theology, and churchly in his tastes. Those who know Doctor Brown personally will see in this a correct delineation of the man. In the list of his writings one counts 17 volumes entirely his own, 26 volumes partly his own, and 197 articles and critical reviews.

Most of the chapters in the book are historical in their nature. The others are strongly tinged with historical color; so that the volume does reflect, as its title suggests, the most important developments in American Christianity during the past fifty years. It is a worthy tribute to one of the outstanding religious personalities in America today.

ABDEL ROSS WENTZ

*New Faiths for Old. An Autobiography.* By Shailer Mathews. New York: The Macmillan Company. 303 pages. \$3.00.

Shailer Mathews is one of the most widely known American scholars in the field of religion and theology. His long life as teacher and Dean of the theological school of the University of Chicago, his wide and active participation in civic and ecclesiastical affairs, the number of his publications, books and periodicals, his place in world councils dealing with far-reaching principles of social organization, etc., indicate the remarkable character of the man, and, as a matter of course, the remarkable character of the book. And for this reason it is not easy for the reviewer to give the reader a fair idea of its contents.

The biography is both interesting and revealing, showing the factors contributory to the making of the man. His administrative activities are just as interesting and reveal-

ing as indicating the dynamic and penetrating purposes of his genius. His contributions to scholarship might likewise occupy our full attention in review. One marvels at the extent and the penetration of his labors. This is not intended as enthusiastic encomium; it is simply straight-forward reaction.

He gives account of his early life and school preparation in a very fascinating way. Humor bubbles over quite often as the reader follows along. His early Christian training was within the Baptist communion, and the story of how his religious life and scholastic experience led him to forget the divisive principles of denominationalism and fix his attention on the great essentials of Christianity where the great body of believers come together is instructive.

Another very interesting feature of the New Faith for the Old is the vigor with which his energy went into translating the Spirit of the Christian religion into dynamic life. With him religion inspires hope, but it likewise inspires action. His early volumes are largely devoted to the problem of the need and of the method of religion in making its proper impact on the social order. Dr. Mathews' concern as a Christian is to make Christianity count here and now. He does not discount the transcendent hope, but he is not so absorbed in it as to forget his responsibility in the town in which he lives.

The extent to which he was active in civic affairs in Chicago and in international affairs in world conferences is emphatic witness to the earnestness with which he gave himself to making his gospel a real regenerating force in the world in which we live. The fact that he had a place of prominence in the world religious conferences in these recent years of confusion indicates the extent to which his insights have won respect among religious thinkers.

His later publications indicate the "speed" of his thinking. In his *The Faith of Modernism* as well as in his *The Atonement and the Social Process*, he is drawing schemata for the thought of the generation that is coming on. The former volume did not please either the modernist or the fundamentalist. For the one it was too much, for the other too little. In the latter he was using the principles made vital in recent thinking, especially by Whitehead, to give stability and force to the spirit of religion.

It is not an arbitrary caprice that leads him to caption his last chapter "And Tomorrow." He has more than caught up with his age. The very logic of his constructive thought pushes him to look across into the promised land which he may not enter, but the structure of which he sees already taking form in the evolution of the principles with which he has lived.

We recommend this book for its account of one of America's greatest thinkers in the field of religion; for the insight it furnishes into the growth of religious thinking during the past forty years; for the personal aspect depicted in it of the progress of ecclesiastical reconstruction during the same period. It was not in vain that Dr. Shailer Mathews was early associated with that superb religious statesman, John Henry Barrows. It was a tribute to his merit that Barrows brought him to Chicago, a judgment on President Barrows' part that the years of his connection with the University have fully vindicated. It is the autobiography of a man of rare scholarship, who dedicated his genius to the advancement of the Christian religion, and whose dedication has been singularly effective.

C. F. SANDERS

*Across the Years: An Autobiography.* By the Rev. Dr. Charles Stedman Macfarland. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. 367 pages. \$2.75.

"Across the Years" is the life story of a brave, forward-looking, wide-visioned leader. Frank in acknowledging his debt to others, he most highly values those gifts which he received from his Swedish Lutheran father and his New England mother. The

most striking thing in the entire autobiography is his constant "new starts." Each of these he undertakes with new eagerness and enthusiasm. For him Browning's words hold true: "Come grow old along with me, the best is yet to be." Conservative churchmen will not agree with many of his points of attack. Doctor Macfarland acknowledges many mistakes—"As I look over these years I see many errors of both judgment and action, some of which seem inexplicable and inexcusable." His great purpose was to permeate all living with the spirit of Christ. We are lenient and forgiving with men who at least make the attempt.

SAMUEL TREXLER

*Fliedner the Faithful.* By Abdel Ross Wentz. Philadelphia: Board of Publication of the United Lutheran Church in America, 1936. 139 pages. \$0.50.

This book concerns the man of whom Florence Nightingale said, "Pastor Fliedner began his work with two beds under a roof but with a castle in the air." She was not favorably impressed by the kind of training which nurses received in his hospital but she valued the spirit with which they were infused. She spent three months in his institution in 1851. Later she wrote, "The nursing there was *nil* . . . . The hygiene horrid. The hospital was certainly the worst part of Kaiserswerth. I took all the training that was to be had—there was none to be had in England—Kaiserswerth was far from having trained me." But she also wrote, "Never have I met a higher tone, a purer devotion than there."

In the history of nursing Fliedner is to be credited with comprehending the necessity of systematic training, with being the first to raise nursing to the status of a recognized vocation for women and with having established the modern system. It remained for a later generation to make that training scientific. Pasteur, Lister, and Koch did not become famous until after his death. Their discoveries in bacteriology altered hospital practices and the treatment of disease and injuries to such an extent that the training required for nursing was greatly developed.

This volume, however, belongs in the class of religious literature. In the preface it is stated that it was written at the request of the Board of Deaconess Work and that it was designed as part of the 1936 centennial of the origin of Protestant deaconesses. It has evidently been written for a reading public of pastors, church workers, and young people whose desire to learn about this remarkable man has been stimulated by the current anniversary of his work. It is admirably adapted to this purpose and fills an undisputed need. Philip Schaff and Fliedner's son have produced biographies in German but an extended account of his life in English has not appeared for almost seventy years.

The writer of this latest work wishes it to be read as biography not history. Chapter XIX contains an historical account of the growth of the deaconess work in America which adds to the value of the book. It might more suitably have been given the place of an appendix to the biography.

PAUL F. BLOOMHARDT

*The Search for a New Strategy in Protestantism.* By Ivan Lee Holt. Nashville: The Cokesbury Press, 1936. 190 pages. \$1.50.

Obviously, the implication of the title is that something needs to be done about Protestantism. Certain conditions within, and others outside in the social order, when brought together upon the same scene, serve to put the Protestant church of the present day on the spot. Time was when the church could hobble along, crippled with definite inherent weaknesses, and nobody seemed to be greatly aware of its limp. The age was kinder and the burdens were lighter. For instance, the church could be all split up,

even to the point of absurdity, and there seemed to be present no conscious challenge serious enough to reveal the inevitable weaknesses attending such a state. Then there swept in upon the scene modern social and economic forces inducing strains which tested every possible strength which the church could mobilize. Under that pressure the lameness showed up. Religion, specifically Protestantism, could do little better than mark time.

So it is a new strategy that Dr. Holt is asking for, a strategy that will permit Protestantism to function and express the genius of its power in meeting the hard tasks that have been forged for it out of the present order. He sets forth the strategies that have been proposed by Schweitzer, Morrison, Niebuhr, Barth, Adler, and the Oxford Group, and evaluates each as a possible solution. There is also a survey of what is happening through organized efforts both within and without the Christian church to effect a larger and more harmonious world fellowship. The changed approach to the missionary enterprise as supported by the Laymen's Inquiry is held forth as the one which the mission world is demanding. The three emphases that must characterize the new strategy are, "a new consecration to God; an elimination of duplication in the programs of co-operating organizations; a union or closer federation of Protestant Churches." The author is convinced that something of this is absolutely imperative, for we can no longer solve our problems by quoting membership statistics.

This book will scarcely be satisfying to those who do not feel the urgency of a new strategy for Protestantism. Others who do feel such a need are assured of some very profitable moments in reading it. They will receive fresh inspiration from the wide experience of one who himself has traveled the field and marshalled support for his personal testimony from the wide range of other voices which he causes to speak through these pages. When the reader has finished with this "search" he is likely to be more disturbed than ever before by the handicap under which Protestantism is placed through its present untimely and ineffective denominational arrangement.

D. F. PUTMAN

*Catholics, Jews, and Protestants: a Study of Relationships in the United States and Canada.* By Claris Edwin Silcox and Galen M. Fisher. Published for the Institute of Social and Religious Research. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934. 369 pages. \$2.50.

This study was undertaken at the request of the National Conference of Jews and Christians, an organization engaged in the effort to bring about a larger measure of mutual understanding between Catholics, Jews, and Protestants. Its immediate purpose is to supply accurate information on the actual relations of members of the different faiths to each other in order that prevalent rumors and general impressions may either be confirmed or corrected, as the case may demand. The extensiveness and intensiveness of the investigation were necessarily limited by considerations of time and money. Case studies were therefore made in only sixteen American and three Canadian cities which offered more or less typical or illuminating conditions, and, together with other supplementary data, these were used as a basis for cautious generalizations.

The inquiry is focused on a number of areas in which Catholics, Jews, and Protestants most frequently come into conflict: industrial, social, and political discrimination against members of a given faith; participation in community chests and friction between various social-welfare agencies; difficulties created in elementary and higher education by differences in faith; impediments to intermarriage introduced by religious bodies; animosity resulting from conscious efforts at proselytization by one or another of the groups. The analysis of each of these areas of conflict is preceded by a brief, but useful, historical introduction for purposes of orientation.

The volume before us may be judged in one of two ways. On the one hand, it may be taken as an urgent plea "to knit men and women of all faiths together in friendship and in devotion to the fundamentals on which they are agreed." As a modest piece of propaganda it is addressed, by implication if not by word, to the Protestant majority rather than to the minority groups. The evidence presented demonstrates quite clearly that Protestantism has yielded to progressive secularization along the entire front. The resistance of Catholics and Jews to such secularization would seem to make it necessary for Protestants to yield even more in order to achieve the cooperation advocated. One might well be led to protest with the eastern business man who said: "I get weary of going to hear us Protestants made 'the goat.' We are so anxious to make amends to the 'minority faiths' for what some Protestants have said and done that we refrain from referring to the bigoted or sectarian things Catholics or Jews are doing."

On the other hand, however, this volume may be taken as a compendium of facts and figures bearing on the relation of the members of the three faiths. As such it is exceedingly useful. It fills a real need in supplying a picture of conditions as they actually exist. It offers a mass of reliable information which cannot be found in any other place. And it successfully exposes the insidious misinformation and the unfounded prejudice which only too often introduce bitterness and friction into our everyday life. Any reader can distinguish the facts from the interpretations, and he can be grateful for the facts even if he should sometimes find it necessary to take exception to the conclusions drawn from them.

T. G. TAPPERT

*Christianity in America: A Crisis.* By E. G. Homrighausen. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1936. 227 pages. \$2.00.

Not a history nor a description, but a diagnosis and a prescription: and the doctor knows his patient.

What should the church do to the contemporary scene? Compromise or challenge? Those of us who have had our views on this matter confirmed some months ago by the striking volume on *The Church Against the World* can have them doubly reinforced by a reading of this spirited little book. The argument comes out at the same place: the church should become really Christian in pulpit and pew and so should exorcise the spirit of secularism that has brought it into its present impotence. "The churches will need to cease doing everything good that comes along, and give witness and expression to the Only Good at the heart of the church." "The American churches will need to grow up, to cease this undirected and feverish activism and shallow sentimentalism."

The scholarly young pastor of the Carrollton Avenue Church, Evangelical and Reformed, in Indianapolis, boldly analyzes the spiritual crisis that has overtaken the churches. In four vigorous chapters he lays bare their "sterile intellectualism," their vague religiosity, and their "theological anaemia." Then in five constructive chapters he calls for a return to real Christian preaching, a new evaluation of the Bible, a recovery of a vital sense of the church universal as something vastly more than an organization, and a return to the mysterious transcendence of Jesus Christ. In summarizing the Christian message Dr. Homrighausen issues a strong plea for repentance. "This is Christianity's greatest doctrine. It must repossess it with a great conviction. Evangelical Protestantism, which has done so much to stimulate the individualism of the West, needs to revive the counter doctrine of repentance."

A severe but deserved arraignment of the spirit that now prevails in the Protestant churches of America, this volume is another of the charts that our younger thinkers are drafting in order to steer Protestantism off the shallows of confusion and the rocks of futility.

ABDEL ROSS WENTZ

*Credo.* By Karl Barth. Translated by J. Strathearn McNab. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936. xii, 203 pages. \$3.00.

"A presentation of the chief problems of dogmatics with reference to the Apostles' Creed" is what Barth attempts to give in this his latest work. The Apostles' Creed is taken up clause by clause and is expounded as the church's confession of faith. In this way Barth briefly sets forth the main doctrines which he has elaborated more fully in his larger *Dogmatics*, the first volume of which was reviewed in these pages in the last number of *The Lutheran Church Quarterly*.

JOHN ABERLY

*The Structure of Religious Experience.* By John Macmurry. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936. 77 pages. \$1.50.

This book consists of the Lectures on the Terry Foundation at Yale, for the year 1936. Notable previous series on this Foundation are *The Freedom of Man*, by Arthur Compton, and *A Common Faith*, by John Dewey. By way of preliminary evaluation we may say that this book by Macmurry is a serious interpretation of the personal nature of man to show the *structure of his experience* in the central field of his self-realization, whereas Dewey's book is a heroic effort to account for religiosity without personality.

Macmurry's book is well described by the title, *The Structure of Religious Experience*. It is thoroughgoingly empirical. Religion is an experience of reality, or, if you prefer, a real experience. The book describes and explains its structure; it has little to do with ecclesiasticism except to show that religion is something much more profound, and to show that when religion is confused with ecclesiasticism it is no more religion.

"Religion must have its starting-point in facts of human experience. If it conceives another world than this, asserts its existence and so passes altogether beyond the limits of our experience in this world, it can only be because there are certain elements in our common experience of this world which constrain it to do so" (p. 1). Here we have a descriptive definition of religious experience large enough to find a place for the wide range of man's endeavor in his religious activities. It starts with the idea that a biologist who is trying to interpret an organic response must try to find out the stimulus which induced it. "A great deal of our modern study of religion proceeds as if it could interpret the response without an account of the stimulus" (p. 4). "To an observer, for example, who had no knowledge of religion whatever, prayer would appear simply as a man talking to somebody who wasn't there" (p. 5).

It is with such keen analysis of real experience that Dr. Macmurry proceeds to give reality to religious life. The book is not easy reading. It is the kind of book that should be read five or six times in as many days, and then repeated at longer intervals. The precision of its logical sequences is nothing short of marvellous. And this applies, too, to the analyses with which it fixes its starting-point.

Society is held together by loyalty. When the bond of loyalty no longer functions, the society disintegrates. Religion that is the real thing furnishes the strength which prevents disintegration. The function of religion is just this, to maintain the vitality of social loyalty and expand it to the comprehension of the human race. When man prostitutes this loyalty to other ends than those ordained, his appeal for loyalty fails.

"It is one thing to realize that the world in which we live is wider and deeper than we know. It is quite another thing to hold that there is another world which is not this world at all. It is one thing to say that religion is about the other world. It is a very different thing to say that it is about an aspect of this world to which we are usually

blind. The first statement is the falsification of religion which makes it unreal. The second is the truth of real religion" (p. 67).

The book from start to finish is a vigorous interpretation of the real structure of a real experience of reality in its supreme sphere or function of effecting the completion of man according to the Plan ordained. I must heartily recommend it to all who can stand a strong "meat" diet.

C. F. SANDERS

*The Nature of Religion.* By Edward C. Moore, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. 368 pages. \$2.50.

Professor Moore is now Emeritus at Harvard. A man with wide contacts, he is the author of a number of books dealing with Christian Thought. The present book is not theology, at least not in the traditional sense; nor is it a philosophy of religion. It might be described as an attempt to bring Christian theology into an understanding with philosophy of religion.

This book, along with many appearing during the past decade, tries earnestly to reduce religion to such definition as will force recognition of its reality and of its function. This is in itself revealing. Scholars are no longer taking it for granted that the thing assumed by the expositor of tradition is as well accepted as the expositors assume; neither do they feel that an apologetic defense is the thing required. Rather do they seem to think that the method of science can and must be applied here as in other fields. This is one of numerous signs of the deeper and surer grip that the age is getting on the facts of religion.

In undertaking to lay his foundation factually the author observes: "Religion is something different from knowledge. Religion is impulse to worthier living." A fine bit of analytic insight. "It is resolve and power for such life." A fine description of the translation of understanding into action and its dynamic presupposition. "It is manifest in a life thus empowered." A notation of a something real, present in the religious man which is absent, and conspicuously absent, in the non-religious man. "It is feeling for higher things. It is belief in that which is ever beyond us. It is experience that that which is beyond us, if we give ourselves to it, gives itself, in a measure at least, to us" (p. 1 f). A brilliant summary statement of our apprehension of the supernatural and of the interaction between us and that beyond.

But a scientific age demands that we justify our use of so high a term as *supernatural*. And Professor Moore accepts the challenge. In doing so he lifts us out of an ancient error that imposed insuperable difficulties. "The progress of the knowledge of the natural alters the area, and even perhaps the idea, of the supernatural. I have not myself been able to find that the word which gives us our word supernatural occurs in classical Latinity. Nor have I been able to ascertain with certainty when the word first emerges in Christian discussion. This is not at all because the distinction which the word describes was not present to the mind of the ancient world. And perhaps it was even more clear to the early Christians and to the mediaeval mind. That distinction was fundamental to both. It has remained fundamental for many minds almost down to our own time. The contention for 'natural religion' which characterized a good part of the eighteenth century was in the end defeated by the fact that it overshot its own mark. It treated this antithesis as if it were absolute and not merely relative. It drove religious men to say, not that the vaunted 'natural religion' was not in its own sense natural, but that it was not in any sense religion" (p. 71 f). The absolute boundary fixed by definition shut man off from knowledge concerning the supernatural and opened the religionist to the charge of "the appeal to ignorance."

With a firm grip on the difficulties to be met, and with a fine discernment of scientific procedure and its legitimacy he carries his case along. God is real; he is Person; he is transcendent. The author makes no unwarranted claims, but with a most discriminating interpretation of the work of Jesus indicates the inescapable way in which he brought the reality of the Transcendent within the range of our apprehension, and the apprehension that he is Transcendent. Prof. Moore makes a swift, but clear, survey of the attempts to reduce the incomprehensible God to simplicity in the doctrine of the Trinity, their failures and the tragedies complicated with them. Then he takes up the challenge to restate the case and attempt a better solution. Rather than take our bafflement as defeat, and surrender to the divorcement between faith and knowledge, let us be humbled and understand the deeper meaning of their most intrinsic relation. "Rather, as was long ago beautifully said, such language 'is not a measuring rod. It is only a telescope by which we might kneel down and look up into heaven.' We realize that God and God's dealings with men submit to no such definitions as we are able to make of them" (p. 242). Thus are we prepared to be satisfied and assured in our apprehension of the Transcendent, and at the same time no longer disturbed over the fact that our comprehension is incomplete. "We *know* in part." We intelligently accept our status of not being omniscient; but at the same time we know that we are not in blank ignorance.

Having arrived at this insight, we find that "we must learn more about God from the character of Jesus, and less about Jesus from speculations concerning God" (p. 284). The application of scientific method to the problems of ethics and of religion has put both on a much securer foundation. It has taken both religion and ethics out of the category of a possible instrument to be wielded by a coterie of power in the interests of special groups. It logically forces admission of the universality of the meaning of God.

The climax comes in Part IV under the caption, "Reality and Realization." This division is near metaphysics; and it is brilliant. One marvels at how determinism and indeterminism, absolutism and relativism, the perfect and the unfinished, here find their place. The fine precision of the author exposes the *ignoratio elenchi* of much behaviourism and extravagant biology. "At all events, well below the lowest levels at which we think we detect consciousness we note an impulse of a living thing to find or to create for itself a more favorable environment. At the level of man such an impulse is not merely beyond question. . . . At this level not merely does the living thing work to change its environment. The changing environment works also to alter the being which lives in it. . . . Nothing is more certain than that the man of science believes that there is in the universe a truth which it is the aim of the life of the men of his sort to explore. . . . Defeat never makes them doubt that beyond present knowledge is a larger knowledge which is the object of their quest. Reality must reveal itself in ever greater clarity. . . . There is hardly more uncertainty among such men about the reality and power of the world of moral facts and values. . . . They are much more clearly every man's business than the inquiry into, let us say, astronomy or physics or chemistry. We may cheerfully borrow our notions about these. We borrow at our peril our notions about morals" (p. 315 ff.).

The goal of realization is The Holy. "That religion has been used as a source of comfort in this life, or a ground of hope in the next, in matters in which we do not so much need to be comforted as to be 'stabbed awake,' is true" (p. 360). Reality in its ultimate interpretation resolves itself into realization: the kingdom of heaven coming to be by the process of the recreating of the mind of the creature by the constant activity of the creating God.

The book will richly repay much careful reading.

C. F. SANDERS

*Indian Thought and Its Development.* By Albert Schweitzer. Translated by Charles E. B. Russell. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1936. xii, 272 pages. \$2.50.

India has always had a peculiar fascination for the student interested in religion. The literature is vast and it has been thoroughly investigated. Dr. Schweitzer in this his latest book gets his facts from scholars who have thus made the original sources available for the Western student. Yet, even so, to digest the results of their studies and present them in orderly form from the early Vedas dating perhaps 2000 years B.C. to the latest religious reformers of India in our day must have required a prodigious amount of labor. As in all Dr. Schweitzer's writings, his own views on certain questions on which scholars differ are given at times without mentioning views that may differ from his own. This may have been unavoidable where so large a field is attempted to be covered in so short a space. In spite of this, however, the reader finds in this study a splendid Introduction to the Development of the Religious Thought of India.

JOHN ABERLY

*Kyrkokristendom.* By Yngve Brilioth. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrrelses Bokförlag, 1936. 192 pages. 3:25 kr.; bound 4:25 kr.

This volume is a collection of addresses and sermons delivered at student gatherings and conferences during the years 1930-34. They are the work of Yngve Brilioth, one of Sweden's foremost historians, and are not roseate essays but of great scope, showing the work of one who is struggling with the problems of this age, and seeking a Christian solution.

The address, "Isolation and Fellowship in the Life of the Church," shows how many Swedish theologians look to other lands for the stimulation of their religious life, lest mere preoccupation with the Swedish church may lead to isolation. The American reader senses in these addresses the almost complete identification of the Swedish nation and the Swedish church and, at the same time, is well aware that Yngve Brilioth fears that the Free Church movement shall lead to sectarianism. "One of the darkest chapters in the history of our Church is the chapter telling how a spiritual awakening led to schisms and hostility instead of to a richer communal life. Here is not the place to seek and to place the responsibility for that which happened then. But certainly the misfortune was caused partly because the life of the Church had lost something of its living strength, of its power to give expression to and at the same time hold together the multiplicity of its gifts. That which happened ought, in any case, to make us thankful for the diversity which we still possess" (p. 181). The apostles of regimentation in our American church should read this quotation thoughtfully.

BENJAMIN LOTZ

*Kyrklig Fronttjänst. Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrrelse genom 25 År.* By John Nilsson. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrrelses Bokförlag, 1935. 186 pages. 2:75 kr.; bound 3:75 kr.

Here is the vivid story of Inner Mission work in the Swedish church conducted under the name of *Diakonistyrrelse*. Published in connection with the 25th anniversary of the work, this book calls all phases of it to the attention of the Swedish people.

*Diakonistyrrelse* includes social service, scout activity and adult education—all purposing a richer development of the congregational life and of Christian eleemosynary work in the Swedish church. A further indication of the diversity of this work is seen in the fact that the publication of Sunday school supplies, messages for shut-ins, "Light and Strength," libraries, stereopticon and motion pictures for parish meetings, tracts,

courses for the laity, support of theological students and evangelization have been entrusted to it. "Confirmants of Sweden," a small publication for those confirmed throughout the land, is prepared and distributed by this agency. This is something that might well be considered by the Board of Inner Missions or the Board of Education for the confirmants of the United Lutheran Church in America.

This book shows the Church of Sweden in aggressive conflict, opposing the spirit of the anti-Christ that can creep so surreptitiously across the borders of Norrland. Inner mission workers throughout the world will find this work a heartening and interesting one.

BENJAMIN LOTZ

*The Fatherly Rule of God.* By Alfred E. Garvie. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1936. 256 pages. \$1.25.

This little book is an earnest attempt to face realistically the questions raised by Christian ethics in the realm of social living. The author is no advocate of a superficial gospel. On the other hand, he refuses to believe that the Christian conscience is justified in accepting complacently the normal situations which offend it and in which it may at times be compelled to participate.

The issue, as Garvie interprets it, is one that has to do with a new integration of the functions of church and state. In the course of its evolution the state has come now to be something different from what it once was, so that its sharp separation from the church can no longer be maintained. For one thing, it is "not solely or even mainly punitive, but serviceable for the common good; and force is not its distinctive activity but only its last resort." Even then its use of force is mainly educative and conciliating, so that the authority of the state has come "to depend less and less on the threat of force and more and more on the free consent of its citizens."

Furthermore, the state now includes in its functions "almost (if not quite) the whole range of human life"; thus making its ends almost coterminous with the ends of the church. On the other hand, the church's wider vision of its mission includes now the salvation of the whole manhood of all mankind. "Motive, method and means may be different, but the sphere of service is the same, the whole man, not the body as the charge of the state and the soul as the care of the church."

Here then arises the conflict. "Neutrality there cannot be, hostility there should not be, cooperation there ought to be if the state is to discharge its functions most efficiently, and if the church is to fulfill its mission faithfully."

The manner of this cooperation the author then attempts to work out. The method which he suggests is the recognition by the individual Christian and the Christian community of the "maximum possible" under existing conditions; the bearing of testimony to what the Christian conscience has a right to expect and should be done under any given circumstances; and the permeation of the life of the community with the leaven of Christian living. In this way the full force of the church's strength can be brought into cooperation with the strength of the state for the attainment of those objectives which both should have in common. There then follows the practical application of this thesis to the spheres of the family, education, economics and war.

Dr. Garvie very likely intended his book to be a contribution to the preliminary studies which are now being carried on in anticipation of the meeting of the World Conference on Life and Work in England next summer. At any rate, the subject of his book is to be one of the principal subjects of discussion at the Conference, and it is to be expected that Dr. Garvie, who was one of the active participants at Stockholm, will also be at Oxford to defend his views. This narrowing of the problem of social ethics to the problem of the relation of church and state represents a distinct advance in the de-

velopment of the social gospel. It is at this point that the parting of the ways has occurred heretofore, and until the divergent views in this field are reconciled there can be no common advance by the whole Christian church.

That there will be those who will disagree with Dr. Garvie may be taken as a foregone conclusion. Only by a loose interpretation of Christianity can it be concluded that the ethics of the church and the ethics of the state are "almost coterminous." The ethics of the church are absolute ethics; the ethics of the state are relative ethics. For the church to adopt as its ends the ends which the state may reasonably be expected to attain through legislation may be expedient from the practical point of view, but it cannot be done without serious compromise.

Reinhold Niebuhr, in his *An Interpretation of Christian Ethics* is conscious of this fact. "The failure of the Christian church in politics," he writes, "will be found in the fact that a religious interpretation of life, which does justice to the ultimate problems of human existence and is able to apprehend the final possibilities of good and evil, does not find it easy to deal with the questions of relative good and evil, which are the very stuff of the political order." This is the heart of the matter. For the church as a church to support the relative good, even as "the maximum possible," not only serves to confuse the issue with respect to ultimate ends, but is bound to divert the church more and more from its legitimate and most effective activity, namely, that of preaching repentance. Having obtained the immediate end, which it sanctioned as the Christian end, it will find difficulty in moving forward from that particular point. In order to "do justice to the ultimate problems of human existence" and "to be able to apprehend the final possibilities of good and evil" the church must keep her vision clear and not compromise her ideal.

It is the recognition of this fact and the solemn determination not to lose sight of it that has shaped the course of Lutheranism in the field of social ethics. Dr. Garvie is aware of this fact and he describes it as "the limitation of Lutheranism." It appears to him to result in a kind of dualism, "the separation of a man's life in Christ from his life in the society to which he belongs." But this is an unjustifiable inference and indicates a failure to understand the true Lutheran position.

Lutheranism separates between the religious conception of righteousness whereby man is declared to be righteous as a gift of God's grace, and the ethical conception of righteousness whereby a man works out what has been worked in him through forgiving grace. The separation therefore is between the two theological concepts of justification and sanctification, but not "between a man's life in Christ and his life in society." The ethical life is always made possible by the life in Christ and at every point stands in the most intimate relation to it. But the life in Christ is made possible only by the gift of God.

Furthermore, Lutheranism believes in a realistic reading and understanding of the transcendent demands of Christ. It does not seek to make the impossible possible by a Pharisaic hedging of the divine requirements, nor is it content simply with the maximum possible. The fatherly rule of God, as Garvie calls it, means the rule which will be inaugurated when a godlike love becomes sovereign in man. What the forms will be like through which this love will express itself cannot be prognosticated. But surely a League of Nations or a Social Security Act or a Prohibition Law are not to be regarded as synonymous with the fatherly rule of God. They may represent an advance in the process of social living, but the Lutheran church at least looks to something far different when it thinks of life as motivated by sovereign love. When therefore it refuses as a church to endorse any of these projects as the will of God, it is not seeking to separate between a man's life in Christ and his life in society, but merely between what God actually requires and the feeble efforts of man to satisfy those requirements. To

identify the ultimate will of God with schemes of social betterment never occurs to the Lutheran church.

Finally, the Lutheran church emphasizes the factor of freedom. Because of the complex character of most of the issues on which the Christian is compelled to take a stand and the mixed motives which are behind them it is possible for two equally conscientious Christians to take diametrically opposite positions and each believe that he is doing the will of God. There is a weakness here which all recognize. Were all Christians united with respect to what the Christian conscience demanded on any given issue progress would be far more rapid than it now is. But on many issues such a unanimity could be secured at present only through pressure of an outward authority, and to this the Lutheran church refuses to resort. To exercise such a control would contradict its fundamental conception of the fatherly rule of God which is a rule of constraining love and not of outward compulsion. It therefore devotes itself to those activities which create the good will, permitting the forms in which, and the agencies through which, this good will is to express itself to be developed freely, as wisdom and experience dictate. Dr. Garvie does not use the word lobbying, yet what he suggests seems very much like such an activity. So soon as a church as a church seeks to bring pressure on the processes of legislation, endeavoring in that way to set up the fatherly rule of God, it exposes itself to a kind of criticism against which it is very difficult for it to defend itself.

We have made this apology for the Lutheran position because Garvie singles it out in more than one place as being a peculiarly reprehensible position for a church to take. We do not mean to affirm that the Lutheran church has found the most adequate integration of the functions of church and state. Practically our position has led to a too great subordination of the function of the state from the Christian point of view. We have failed to grapple as seriously as we should with the great moral issues with which our civilization confronts us. The freedom which we are intent upon preserving involves a solemn responsibility and we have not always fitted men to meet their specific responsibilities intelligently and helpfully. There is a demand today for more guidance. Perhaps we have also failed in creating that social-mindedness which will constrain the Christian as citizen to use every legitimate means to improve the social order.

However, we do maintain that our Lutheran position provides for the consideration of those great fundamental principles which must be maintained in any integration. There will always be a difference which will justify the distinction between church and state as institutions. To preserve this distinction and yet at the same time to use each institution to its full capacity for the realization of a better world remains the problem to be worked out. Garvie's book will stimulate thinking along this line and for this reason it is recommended as a thoughtful contribution to the subject.

E. E. FISCHER

*Why Do Men Suffer?* By Leslie D. Weatherhead. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1936. 222 pages. \$1.25.

The problem of suffering has always agitated the minds of men, more deeply at some times than at others. The present era is one in which the problem has been revived, not so much from the philosophical as from the religious point of view. It may be that our growing humanitarianism makes us more conscious of the problem; or it may be that with the loss of faith in the deeper meaning of the cross as the symbol of Christianity there has also been lost the key to the mystery of suffering. At any rate, the question which is the title of this book is one that men are asking, and its answer has become one of the indispensable parts of modern apologetics.

The author's position is frankly that of a Christian theist. He assumes that there is a God who "is at least personal"; that this God is good, and that he is omnipotent. By God's omnipotence he means his "ability finally to consummate those purposes which his nature and character suggest. Furthermore, "the author believes that the final answer to all the problems of suffering is the answer of faith."

It is on this basis that Dr. Weatherhead considers all the different forms of suffering to which man is exposed. There is a comprehensiveness about the book which makes it one of the most complete studies that have appeared on the subject. Its frankness is also commendable. The problems are faced honestly and sympathetically, and the suggested solutions are clearly set forth. When rational explanation is able to help in the understanding of the experience, the author does not hesitate to employ it. But the ultimate problem he recognizes is a spiritual one. Suffering is accepted as an inescapable experience in a world such as ours in which there is sin. But it is a suffering in which God himself in Christ shares, and from which he can redeem us, not always by removing it but by helping men to accept it and find in it a fellowship of suffering with him.

The book is eminently adapted to the needs of those who are either sufferers themselves or whose lives are being lived in the immediate presence of those who must suffer. The style is often devotional and bears the marks of the intimate personal experience out of which the author tells us the book grew. It is heartily recommended.

E. E. FISCHER

*Contemplative Prayer.* By Shirley C. Hughson, O.H.C. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935. xii, 204 pages. \$2.00.

As the title indicates, this is a devotional book. It is written by a member of the Order of the Holy Cross and therefore is written both from the mystical and the High Church approach. The devotional manuals of the Middle Ages and of members of certain recent orders are constantly quoted.

In reading a manual of this kind, one not used to that kind of a prayer technique is impressed with how mechanical prayer can be made if put in the straitjacket of rules and regulations. But one also can not but be impressed with the fact that rules and regulations, even if in danger of leading to the mechanical, may foster a richer prayer life than the absence of all technique.

Prayer here is divided into vocal, affective, meditative and contemplative. This last is the highest and puts the soul into the immediate presence of God and lets him speak to the one who prays rather than have those praying speak to God. The mystics have much to teach us about such contemplative prayer. The counsels given in this book are sober, do not prescribe the same course for all, and, if followed, will help the devotional life of those who follow what may be best fitted to them.

JOHN ABERLY

*Character and Christian Education.* By Stewart G. Cole. Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1936. 243 pages. \$2.00.

The conflict between current movements in character education and religious education has been taken by Dr. Cole as the theme for this, his latest book. He devotes the entire first half to a careful survey of various phases of character education today, and then in the second considers aspects of a child's education in religion, and points out the conflicts that arise between influences from the two sources.

He blames character education for failing to realize that church doctrines arise out of the needs of life and are by their nature closely related to the character training given by secular agencies. But most of the blame he places upon religious education: first, upon

the type that administers precepts, doctrines, exhortations, teachings distinctly removed from the experience of the pupil, and makes only feeble efforts to relate them to the life of the pupil; and second, the most "advanced" type of religious education which claims to deal only with problem-situations of the pupil and essays complete coverage of that type of teaching. He accuses the former of causing serious splits in the personalities of the pupils by giving them a body of ideas which they accept intellectually but do not live, and the latter of becoming no more nor less than the character education which is carried on by the regular secular agencies of society.

This analysis of the problem seems sound, and the author does make several valuable suggestions toward its solution. He declares that the church must give power to ethical teaching by leading "youth into the spiritual-energizing experience of Christian worship" (p. 238). He insists that churchmen consider their *whole* program as an educational investment in the community. However, many will consider his demand that "Christians identify the imperishable values of Christianity with the gems of experience set in secular situations, thus providing for an inclusive faith that unifies life" (p. 16), as a fine-sounding standard whose realization his book sets forth none too clearly.

This treatment gives the impression of being quite scholarly, sometimes a bit too much so. The author includes a wide range of references to recognized authorities in all phases of his treatment, and includes therein some undoubted gems, but to many readers the effect must be that of a kaleidoscope with more than a hint of excessive jumbling. Some of his definitions, such as his distinguishing between Jesus and Christ, and between Protestantism and Christianity, appear somewhat more stimulating than accurate. The general plan of the work with more than half given to a summary of character education, illuminating as some parts of it are, seems decidedly open to question. Had the author omitted the first two-thirds of the treatment and expanded the latter third into full book size, all too many readers might approve.

On the whole, however, Dr. Cole presents an important problem in a thorough way, including many important and helpful lights on its solution, though allowing plenty of opportunity for more to be said.

HERMAN KEITER

*Out of Thirty-five Years.* By Samuel Trexler. New York, London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1936. 160 pages. \$2.00.

This is not an autobiography in the usual sense of the word. It is written out of the rich experience of thirty-five fruitful years in the ministry. But it is written with the purpose of contributing to the creation of a superior ministry for the church of today. It is a record of the achievements of a remarkable pastoral ministry. It is more. Out of the provincial, metropolitan and cosmopolitan ministry of thirty-five years the author presents guidance and challenge to the ministry of the hour to a more adequate fulfillment of its great mission.

The eighteen chapters are filled with rich suggestions for the preacher, the churchman and the church worker. It calls attention to problems without blighting pessimism. It paints the potential possibilities of the church without cheap optimism.

Younger folk will read its pages and find guidance, good counsel and source material for the development of personality and plan. Older folk will read it and renew their vision and vigor.

"Out of thirty-five years," the author has assembled and interpreted materials from which we as readers may create a greater and a grander church, ministry or period of noble living. In the book, as in his ministry, the author has paved the way to higher levels of thought and action in the Christian life and service.

H. D. HOOVER

*Christmas: An American Annual of Christmas Literature and Art.* Vol. VI. Edited by Randolph E. Haugan. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing Company, 1936. 68 pages. \$1.00.

Those who had seen the past issues of *Christmas* looked forward eagerly to this sixth volume; and we were not disappointed. If anything, we were more delighted. The beauty of the pictures, the charm, sincerity and dignity of the stories, poems and carols, served to rekindle within us the spirit of the Christ Child.

CYMBELINE FELKER BIESECKER

*A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic.* By Rev. Harold L. Creager. Palmyra, N. J.: Published by the author in mimeograph pages, bound. 1937. 126 pages. \$1.00

Here is a little book for which many of us would have given many times the price announced could we have had it years ago. It is the first book of its kind in English to be published in the United States. To be sure, we have had Riggs' Manual of the Chaldee Language, published in 1858, but ever since the appearance of Brockelmann's excellent texts on the several Semitic languages, such as Marti's *Kurzgefasste Grammatik der biblisch-aramaischen Sprache*, a handbook in English such as this has been a desideratum. Mr. Creager has made a very usable book. He has followed the general plan of his *Hebrew Grammar*, giving, in addition to the elements, a sufficient treatment of syntax, with notes on the biblical readings from Ezra-Nehemiah and Daniel, with excellent exercises and word-lists for the beginner, an adequate glossary and Aramaic index—all for the very reasonable price of one dollar. We hope the use of the handbook will justify its publication in more permanent form.

H. C. ALLEMAN

*New Testament Commentary. A General Introduction to and Commentary on the Books of the New Testament.* Edited by Herbert C. Alleman. Complete in One Volume. Philadelphia: The Board of Publication of the United Lutheran Church, 1936. IX, 720 pages. \$3.00.

The United Lutheran Publication House has issued much good literature in the eighteen years of its existence. A considerable part of it has been official, prepared by, or under direction of the Common Service Book Committee and the Parish and Church School Board. Except for this official literature, this new commentary is probably the most important work that it has put out.

It was projected to fill a need that has been felt increasingly in recent years. There is an increasing number of our lay-people who want just such a book and who need the information which it contains. The developing program of education, which the church has fostered, is bringing more and more of our young men and women into the work of teaching the Bible and there has been no commentary available at a moderate price, that pastors could put into their hands.

It is greatly to the credit of the editor and his associates that they were able to keep the purpose of their work so constantly in view. To be of real value, it had to be simple, untechnical and easily comprehensible. The writers had to keep out of the critical and exegetical bypaths that are so interesting to the men who write and often so deadly dull to those who read. On the other hand, their work had to have the background of knowledge which is possessed only by those who have explored the land into which they lead their readers. Only those who have attempted such a task, in this field or some other, can appreciate the difficulty of the task. It has been well performed.

This is the more remarkable when we consider the number of men who were engaged in it. The list of contributors contains no less than twenty-eight names. Sixteen of them are professors of theology; the rest are in the active service of the church, as pastors or administrators. They are of all ages, too. Some of them are veterans of scholarship, whose names are known throughout the church; others are coming for the first time to the church's knowledge through the work that they have done here. Dr. Alleman is to be congratulated on his ability to bring so many and such different men together and make their work contribute so splendidly to the purpose of the book.

Some of the most valuable portions of the work are contained in the introductory section, to which nine authors have contributed. It deals with many matters not usually found in commentaries,—the Beginnings of the Christian Church (Wentz), the Historical Relationships of the New Testament (Stamm), the Cardinal Doctrines of Christianity (Haas), the Beginnings of Christian Worship (Seltzer), Teaching the New Testament (Nolde). Other introductory subjects are the Formation and Transmission of the New Testament (Krueger), the Life, Work, and Teachings of Jesus (Fischer), the Life and Work of Paul (Offermann), and the Chronology of the New Testament (Creager). The treatment of those subjects is fresh and interesting, as well as scholarly. The 150 pages of introductory matter would make a worth-while volume, if printed separately. The publishers might well consider asking those writers to expand their material somewhat and issue their work as a general introduction to New Testament Introduction, for pastors and theological students, as well as for the general reader.

The commentaries on the individual books, or groups of books, which form the body of the work, are not all of equal value. That is true even of the New Testament books themselves. All of us have our favorite books and all of us will have our favorite commentators on them. The appeal of an individual book or a particular writer may have its cause in the reader as easily as in the things he reads. The discerning reader will inevitably find some things in this commentary with which he will disagree. It would be a miracle if all the work of twenty-eight writers were on the same plane of excellence as Dr. Offermann's superb commentary on the Gospel of Matthew. Some of the critical opinions which the writers express are themselves open to criticism. To offer that kind of criticism here would not be profitable and might be thought invidious. It might easily become presumptuous. We recognize the right of scholars to disagree; when that right is taken from them, we shall have no more scholars.

But this new commentary has a significance that goes far beyond itself. It is a demonstration that within our own church-body we have a group of scholars who are able, when called upon, to produce work that suffers in no respect when compared with that of men in other churches. All that is needed to make their scholarship productive is organization and stimulation. If that is provided we shall cease to be the inarticulate church that we have been.

This work should be followed up by a series of single-volume commentaries on the more important books of the New Testament. There should be books, written by our own authors, in the fields of church-history and history of doctrine and in that of pure theology. These works should be planned, the writers carefully selected, and the whole enterprise be placed under some editor as skillful as Dr. Alleman has shown himself to be. They should not be "official" publications with *Imprimatur* and *Nihil obstat* on the title page; but they should be books in which the writers would be free to express the best results of their own scholarship, which is the scholarship of the church.

The Publication House has spared no expense to give this Commentary a worthy press. As a piece of book-making, it is the best that has yet come from our press; and it is published at a price that is amazingly low, less than one-half of what a commercial publisher would charge for a work of similar scope.

CHARLES M. JACOBS

## BOOKS RECEIVED

For the information of its readers and in acknowledgment to the publishers, *The Lutheran Church Quarterly* publishes the following list of books received. More extended notice will be given later to as many of them as space permits.

- ACKERMANN, CARL, *The Bible in Shakespeare*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1936. 124 pages. \$0.85.
- BAER, DALLAS C., *The Old Gospel for New Times*. Burlington: The Lutheran Literary Board, 1936. 245 pages. \$2.25.
- BEILER, IRWIN R., *Studies in the Life of Jesus*. Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1936. 319 pages. \$2.50.
- COURTENAY, CHARLES, *On Growing Old Gracefully*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. 235 pages. \$2.00.
- DE BOER, CECIL, *The If's and Ought's of Ethics: a Preface to Moral Philosophy*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1936. 379 pages. \$2.50.
- DEISSMANN, ADOLF, *Una Sancta*. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1936. 66 pages. RM 2.
- FERM, VERGILIUS, *First Chapters in Religious Philosophy*. New York: Round Table Press, Inc., 1937. 319 pages. \$3.00.
- *First Adventures in Philosophy*. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1936. 548 pages.
- GILKEY, JAMES GORDON, *Getting Help from Religion*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. 185 pages. \$1.75.
- KÖEBERLE, ADOLF, *Das Evangelium und die Räthsel der Geschichte*. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1936. 77 pages. RM 2.
- LUECKE, G., *The Way of Life*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing Company, 1936. 96 pages. \$2.00.
- HOHENBERGER, V., D. MARTIN LUTHER, *Von der Auferstehung der Toten*. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1936. 227 pages. RM 4.
- MANN, A. CHESTER, *Moody: Winner of Souls*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1936. 135 pages. \$1.00.
- MORENTZ, PAUL I., *The Old Testament: An Appreciation*. Philadelphia: Published by the Author, 1936. 91 pages.
- REU, M., *The Church and the Social Problem*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1936. 46 pages. \$0.25.
- REDUS, MORGAN W., *The Text of the Major Festivals of the Menologion in the Greek Gospel Lectionary*, Vol. II, No. 2. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936. 34 pages. \$0.25.
- SCHOMERUS, HILKO W., *Meister Eckehart und Mānikka-Vāsagar*. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1936. 191 pages. RM 5.50.
- The Staff of the Board of Education of the U. L. C. A., *Going to College*. Philadelphia: The United Lutheran Publication House, 1936. 96 pages. \$0.50.
- TURTON, W. H., *The Truth of Christianity*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1936. 535 pages. \$1.00.
- TILlich, PAUL, *The Interpretation of History*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936. 284 pages. \$2.50.

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